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# China Report

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No. 2, 16 January 1981



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## CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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## BUILD OUR PARTY WITH BETTER RESULTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 2-7

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] On the question of how to further improve the party's work style, Comrade Chen Yun put forward three very important suggestions:

First, the ruling party's work style is a matter of vital importance concerning the life and death of the party. Therefore, vigorous and constant efforts must be made to tackle this matter;

Second, there will be difficulties in the work of discipline inspection, but they can be surmounted by achieving unity in thinking;

Third, before dealing with problems, we must investigate them, verify relevant information by seeking truth from facts and hear the opinions of those involved.

The three important suggestions, to which Comrade Chen Yun called the close attention of all party comrades, are three basic ideas and principles for us to do a good job in discipline inspection and in improving the party's work style.

The four questions to be discussed below are based on these three suggestions of Comrade Chen Yun.

### I. Raise Discipline Inspection Work to a New Level

The party's Discipline Inspection Commission was reestablished through a decision of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Subsequent plenary sessions after the 3d Plenary Session established our ideological, political and organizational line. The reestablishment of the party's Discipline Inspection Commission was an important measure adopted to rectify our organizational line. Since the 3d Plenary Session, our party's work on various fronts has achieved considerable progress and its discipline inspection work has gained considerable results.

It can be said that our party has raised the work of discipline inspection to a new level. We have not only carried on many fine traditions in party discipline inspection work that obtained before the "Great Cultural Revolution," but have also developed these traditions. We have not only limited ourselves to inspecting

cases of violation of discipline in the party, but have also raised questions, studied problems and solved issues concerning the overall problem of improving party style and maintaining party discipline. This method has enabled our discipline inspection work to have greater perspective, more depth and to acquire more initiative.

Discipline inspection work during the recent period has another unique characteristic: generally speaking, it has been realistic and reliable. Because we have had remarkable achievements, the party's Discipline Inspection Commission enjoys great prestige in the party and among the people.

However, compared with the requirements of the party's cause and the expectations of all party comrades and the masses, we have not yet done enough. In the words of the masses, we still lack courage and zeal in this work. As far as the overall situation in the country is concerned, the development of discipline inspection work is unbalanced. This work has been done a little better in some departments, provinces and municipalities than in others. Why the difference? There may be many causes for this, but an important one is whether one has the courage to do discipline inspection work. To do discipline inspection work is indeed difficult. A question of "courage" is involved. One must have the courage to offend others! One must have the courage to uphold justice! Do we have the courage? Actually, during the process of bringing order out of chaos, the question of "courage" was also raised. How could we have enabled our cause to develop and flourish and brought order out of chaos if we had hesitated and taken things lightly? All questions of differentiating truth from falsehood, surmounting difficulties, improving one's abilities and winning the people's trust involve a question of mental state. Do they not involve a mental state of knowing that something must be done, wanting to do something, yet being afraid to do that thing; of knowing justice must be upheld, wanting to uphold justice, yet being afraid of upholding justice; of knowing something should be said, wanting to say it and yet being afraid to say it? Let us think for a while: Why is it that under many circumstances, there is the phenomenon of "passing the buck"? Why is it that people dare not take responsibility for problems which they are in charge of solving? This question of mental state exists not only on the front of discipline inspection work, but also among many comrades on various fronts.

## II. Have a Profound Understanding of the Great Significance of Improving Party Work Style

Whether our party's work style is good is a question of whether our party can hold its ground, survive and develop. Many of our party comrades have failed to recognize the importance of this question, and a considerable number of comrades do not understand it correctly. These comrades say: Since I am too busy with economic work, how can I have time to grasp the party's work style? Or they say: Stability and unity are the prerequisite. If party discipline is enforced too rigidly and strictly, it may harm stability and unity. These ideas actually look upon the party's discipline inspection and the effort to improve the party's work style as unessential or even as something conflicting with economic development and the consolidation of stability and unity. These ideas are entirely wrong.

Our party has a 60-year history. The road we traversed shows that the party's correct lines and policies and its normal political life and fine work style are

closely related and mutually dependent. It is not enough for the party to have only a correct political line and correct policies; the party must also have a correct organizational line and a fine work style. Only when the party has correct political and organizational lines, correct policies and a fine work style, can we build our party better. Therefore, one is wrong if one is content with the correctness of the lines and policies alone but ignores the effort to improve the party's activities and work style.

As for our party's status as the ruling party, it has changed from the status of an oppressed Marxist party--encircled, suppressed and slaughtered--to that of the governing party throughout the country. This is a drastic change. Is it possible for the party to degenerate after becoming the ruling party? Historical development raises this question to communists the world over. More than 100 years of history of the international communist movement shows that this is by no means an abstract question, but a practical question relating to our daily life. The Soviet Union has transformed itself from a socialist state into a social imperialist state. In our country, Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company also believed in socialism at the beginning, but they later turned into feudal fascists. All these are living examples.

Before our party came to power, the situation compelled it to have a fine work style. At that time, if the party had been divorced from the masses, had practiced bureaucratism and had sought special privileges, it would have been defeated and wiped out by the enemies. Furthermore, conditions were very tough then and there were not many special privileges to seek. It was impossible to have such bureaucratic practices as we do now, such as putting off a task for a whole year. During the war years, when the enemy came, should we have fought or retreated? If we dilly-dallied, studied the question and busied ourselves with paperwork, we would have been captured or killed within a few hours.

Since our party came to power, some weak-willed comrades have been corrupted after being hit by sugarcoated bullets. In the history of the system of exploitation, those in power were rulers oppressing the people. One of the basic differences between the communists and those rulers is that communists, no matter how important the leadership positions they hold, must not change from being people's public servants into overlords sitting on their backs or rulers oppressing them. The party is the leader of the cause of socialism. However, as to how the party realizes its leadership, how the party's relationship with other organizations should be, how the party attracts the masses, not by coercive orders but through patient and meticulous ideological work, appeal, persuasion and education, and how to lead the masses by the party members' exemplary behavior, are questions which comrades engaged in practical and theoretical work, including those engaged in discipline inspection work, must seriously think about and study. It is absolutely wrong to think of our party as being above all other organizations, to let the party monopolize everything and issue orders on all matters and to think of the party members as rulers above the people after our party came into power. This is very dangerous. Our comrades should by no means overlook the fact that, with the drastic change in our party's status from a party subjected to oppression, massacre and suppression to a ruling party, it might morally degenerate if something goes wrong. We must not ignore this problem.

Some comrades have overlooked the fact that an unhealthy party work style is one reason why our practical work could not be done well. Why is it that today our work to make the economy grow steadily has not been good enough and there are still many problems in our work to maintain stability and unity? What are the reasons? Objectively speaking, the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the other hostile elements still exist. Subjectively speaking, we have not straightened out our ideas toward the party's ideological line, completely overcome leftist ideology or properly rectified our party's work style. The inadequacy of our economic work cannot be solely attributed to the fact that "leftist" thinking has not been entirely overcome. Aside from this reason, there is still a serious question of rectifying our party work style and effectively overcoming unhealthy tendencies.

Whether viewing from historical experience, from the change of status of our party to that of a ruling party or from actual conditions, our party, our cadres, in the first place, must give serious thought to this thesis put forth by Comrade Chen Yun: The ruling party's work style is a matter of life and death for the party.

### III. Persist in Improving Party Work Style

Through the efforts of the whole party, its work style has shown great improvement. However, compared with the early years following the founding of the republic, it has not decisively turned for the better and the unhealthy practices among us are still serious. Such a preliminary estimate conforms with the real situation. Our party has its healthy practices and they are the three great practices of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close links with the masses and criticism and self-criticism. Unhealthy practices are corrosive. They could corrode the body of our party. Every person who loves and supports the party, whether a party member or not, must be concerned about our party's work style and has the right and responsibility to be concerned with our party's work style. Our state is led by the Communist Party. Why should Chinese citizens not be concerned about their leaders and our party's work style? Therefore, workers, peasants and intellectuals, young and old alike, have the right and responsibility to be concerned about our party's work style. What is more important is that we, particularly senior cadres of the party, must be concerned with the party's work style and must take the lead in improving it. To party members, their concern about party work style is a sign of party spirit and their lack of concern shows the absence or lack of party spirit. No ambiguity is allowed on this question. It must be sharply brought out.

Where did the unhealthy practices come from? We must say that they originated from the influence of the ideology of the exploiting classes but we must not say that they are inherent in the proletarian party. They are the effects of the influence and contamination of the exploiting classes' ideology on the proletarian party. Some people raise this question: Why has the ideology of these classes run rampant after their overthrow? Our answer is that the overthrow of the exploiting classes does not mean the complete and simultaneous elimination of their ideas in the minds of the people and the old habitual forces in society. Another reason why unhealthy practices were rampant during the past 10 years or so was that people like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" existed in the party.



They accepted the crooked ideas and work styles of the exploiting classes and enacted them in the party. In addition, the political life of our leadership, including the party Central Committee, was not healthy during a certain period in the past. Thus our democratic centralism was damaged. Viewed from such an angle, we have reason to say that fighting the battle of improving our party work style is the continuation of the elimination of the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and a sign that our good comrades are making a clean break with Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company. A serious and important question such as this allows no attitude of taking things lightly on our part.

What should we do to combat the unhealthy practices?

First, we should continuously and conscientiously conduct, in a down-to-earth manner throughout the whole party, education on the party's nature and on its rules and regulations. At no time should we forget to conduct ideological education. To transform China is an arduous task. Old China was a backward semicolonial and semifeudal society. It left over feudal, bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologies and habitual forces which run counter to historical development. These are not problems which can be solved within a short time. As Lenin said, this is a problem which involves generations. Thus, we must not slacken ideological education at any time. It would be even worse if we were to abandon ideological education.

What is the purpose of our education? It is to make the broad masses of party members know the party's glorious tradition and style. There are two undesirable phenomena among our 38 million party members: One is that some old party members have forgotten the party's fine work style. Another is that more than half of the new party members do not know any fine work style. They do not believe that, 10, 20 or 30 years ago, our party was pure and noble. At present, we must conduct propaganda on and explain the party's glorious tradition among the new party members in order to educate them on the party's fine work style. We must continue to study the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and the new party constitution (draft). While conducting education on the party spirit, party regulations and party discipline in the light of specific conditions, we must also constantly conduct propaganda about models in inheriting and carrying forward the party's fine work style and examples of rectifying errors. For example, the headline news of the 26 November 1980 issue of RENMIN RIBAO reported that in Henan, leading cadres of the Pingyu County CCP Committee took the lead in dismissing more than 600 people who got their jobs through nepotism. Today, we are in a period of reform. On the one hand, we must change old practices. On the other, we must advocate new practices. We must conduct propaganda on and popularize examples of fine work style, propagandize examples of rectifying mistakes and of new people and new things which transform social traditions. These are positive factors which will spur us to improve the party work style. We must raise our consciousness of resisting unhealthy practices by various means. Party committees at all levels must place discipline inspection work as an important item on their agenda and strengthen their leadership over discipline inspection work. Discipline inspection departments at various levels must extensively coordinate with the party's organizational and propaganda departments, newspapers and radio stations. They must be prepared to fight a protracted war of conducting ideological education to improve the party work style. Relying on spur-of-the-moment enthusiasm to improve the party work style will not do. This is a

meticulous job. The organizations must talk to the leading cadres individually, straighten out their thinking and strive to inspire comrades who have unhealthy tendencies to voluntarily rectify their errors. We must primarily rely on mobilizing the broad masses of party members and people to constantly supervise us, in order to effectively restore the tradition of criticism and self-criticism. Party and government organs at the central level and leading cadres at and above the provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels and at and above the army level in the PLA must match their words with action, teach by example and act as models.

Second, serious efforts should be made to resolutely combat the unhealthy tendencies existing among us. There must be no ambiguity. This requires that discipline inspection committees must have revolutionary courage and resourcefulness. They must grasp the most important things and the things that the masses are most unhappy about. Primarily, they must grasp problems in the following aspects:

1. The attitude of overtly speaking in favor of the party's line, principles and policies but acting against them covertly or even openly resisting them. Here, we will disregard the question of understanding. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the current party Central Committee, quite a few comrades have ideologically resented the session owing to their failure to understand it. We should not pick on these comrades. It will be all right if they can catch up. We should enthusiastically and patiently help them to acquire a better understanding of it. Here, we refer to those who have resisted implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and to those who have resorted to the crooked practice of overtly speaking in favor of them while acting against them covertly, thus greatly damaging our work. We do not refer to those who did not have a clear understanding of the party's line, principles and policies during a given period of time.
2. There are people who have used their power and position to appoint people by favoritism, ganged up as factions to scramble for power and self-interest, and thought nothing of the national interests and the party's prestige. These people do everything for their own profit. Some others consider three types of people as our successors and have trained and appointed them to important posts. (These types of people include those who followed Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company in "rebellious" and have, thus, made a name for themselves; those who have serious factionalist ideas; and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting.)
3. Those who have damaged democratic centralism refuse to listen to different opinions, and practice paternalism and "what I say counts." Some others practice anarchism, disregard organizational discipline and do whatever they like. There are still others who have used their power and influence to retaliate against others and to frame good people.
4. In the economic circles are people who have abused their power and indiscriminately issued cash rewards in violation of financial and economic discipline. These people were irresponsible in planning, in capital construction projects and enterprise management and issued commands in a high-handed way. This resulted in a tremendous loss to the property of the state and the people.

5. Those who seek privileges and work for their own interests invariably enjoy luxurious living, disregard the party's principles, practice bureaucracy, maintain special relations with commercial enterprises for their own good, and sneak into other organizations through "back doors." These people have spent public funds to invite others to dinner parties and present them with gifts, thus squandering in a big way. In maintaining contact with foreign countries, they have violated our discipline governing foreign affairs and harmed the prestige of the party and state.

6. There are those who practice bureaucracy, act as overlords at the higher levels, do not go deep among the masses to conduct investigation and study and, in doing things, always try to shift responsibility onto others. They do not care about the weal and woe of the masses.

7. Some people are inclined to tell lies, brag or engage in empty talk; some are apt to practice fraud, deceive their superiors, delude their subordinates and seek honor through deception; and some are prone to giving prominence to themselves, to being flattered, to boasting and divorcing themselves from the masses to a serious extent.

8. Some people do not stop or struggle against unsavory work styles; some like to speak good words on behalf of those who have committed mistakes in order to turn big issues into small ones and hush up things; and some even protect those who have made mistakes or openly refuse to handle those cases.

Unhealthy tendencies are manifested in different areas and departments in different forms and to different degrees. In correcting unsavory work styles, we should proceed according to the actual situation of each case and solve the actual problem. We should concentrate our efforts on grasping a few matters and must not extend them to all areas. We are not saying that we do not have to grasp certain matters. We should first grasp some major problems about which the masses have expressed great concern.

In handling problems, Comrade Chen Yun put forth the following good guideline: We must seek truth from facts, clarify the problem and verify the materials before dealing with the problem. We must also personally talk to the people concerned. We must truly seek truth from facts. If there are 10 charges and 1 is not faithful to facts, that 1 must be omitted. In order to seek truth from facts, we must engage in verification, ask for the opinion of the party committee having jurisdiction over the people concerned and personally talk to the people concerned. We should follow the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" in correcting unsavory work styles. We should be lenient toward those who made mistakes before the promulgation of the "Guiding Principles" and stress the strict handling of those mistakes committed after the promulgation of the "Guiding Principles." We should also follow the written instructions of the party Central Committee and the State Council. In correcting unsavory work styles we should be firm and prudent. We should earnestly help those comrades who have committed mistakes and must not embarrass them. However, we should strictly deal with those who have committed mistakes intentionally, refused to correct their mistakes despite repeated education, committed mistakes although they are law-enforcement cadres themselves, rejected investigation of their

mistakes or retaliated against others. In so doing, we will win the support of the whole party and the people of the whole country. Then, this will enable our work to improve the party work style and make solid progress and advance steadily.

#### IV. Our Party Will Be Able To Create a Loftier Image Among the People

We should have firm confidence and set a goal to improve our party in 3 years--if not in 3 years, then in 5 years. We must add more power to this glorious, correct and great party of ours. Of course, this is easier said than done, but we must have the lofty aspirations to strive for such a goal.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," there are three trends which cannot be stemmed at present, or within the next few years, 10 years or 20 years.

The first trend is the building of the four modernizations with unity. Is it still possible for some people to instigate a large-scale civil war, struggle against "capitalist roaders" and advocate the "transition through poverty"? They might practice such things in some areas, but they certainly cannot practice these things on a large scale. The main trend is to build the four modernizations with unity. The people will not allow them to split the nation and the people.

The second trend is the perfecting of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. Is it still possible for such people as those of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques to emerge? Some people might build up a Jiang Qing-type person as a standard bearer and advocate feudal and fascist practices. However, they cannot possibly carry out such practices on a large scale. The trend is that the cadres, party members and masses all want to perfect socialist democracy and the socialist legal system.

The third trend is the advancement of the party's fine traditions and the improvement and strengthening of the party's leadership. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked about this point on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, he immediately received widespread support inside and outside the party. We must improve the party's leadership. We must strengthen the party's leadership. We can only uphold the party's leadership under the premise of improving this leadership.

These three trends will combine into a general trend of building a powerful socialist China, or, in other words, turning China into a prosperous, rich and powerful country where the people can live and work in peace and contentment. The people are fond of these three things. These three trends will only grow stronger and stronger. No one will be able to stop them. History is independent of the will of a small number of people. It does not develop according to the way some people wish it to develop. Historical development is independent of the subjective wishes of individuals. This is the foremost principle of Marxism. The course of our party's struggles in the past decades teaches us this lesson. Why were we able to smash the "gang of four" in one stroke? It was not because some of our comrades were exceptionally capable. It was mainly because the "gang of four" did all kinds of evil things and had thus lost all popular support and



their organization had become an empty skeleton. The masses had already been opposing them for many years! When the party Central Committee took firm measures against them, it was completely in line with popular will. Why is it that the handling of the Bohai No 2 incident received such widespread support? When the newspapers carried the news, the people were very happy! It was for the same reason. We must see the people's will and wishes through these phenomena. No one will be able to stop the people's will and wishes.

Therefore, we should not be pessimistic or apathetic, and we should not indulge in any opportunist thinking. Some of those who have committed mistakes are precisely those who think this way. Some people always misjudge the historical trend; thus, they commit mistakes. Some of our comrades did not commit any mistakes before 1975 but made mistakes in 1976. The "movement to criticize Deng Xiaoping" in 1976 was the last straw. They could not discern the historical trend. Because the "gang of four" dished up the "criticism of Deng Xiaoping," they finally lost all the support of the people. The criticism of Deng Xiaoping damaged the last foundation of the "gang of four." Some of our comrades always fail to think about and clearly see the people's strength and will. They fail to clearly see the historical trend, always consider temporary darkness a permanent thing or overrate an individual's role in history. This, of course, is also owing to our incorrect explanation during the past 10-20 years of an individual's role in history, in violation of the basic principle of Marxism.

We Communist Party members must see and think clearly. We are the vanguard of the proletariat. We must stand in front of the historical trend and must never be an obstacle to historical development. We will also commit errors if we go beyond the law of historical development. We must play the role of a vanguard fighter or, in other words, play the role of pioneer. If we look at and think of the problem in this way, then our party's discipline inspection work will have great prospects and will be able to gain achievements for the party, for our country and for our nation.

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## SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE STRENGTHENING OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 8-11

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] Without the Communist Party, there would not have been the new China. This has been proven by historical facts. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, we could not have built a powerful socialist state, a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized state. This point must be advocated by us with conviction. To uphold party leadership, we must improve party leadership. Concerning the problem of improving party leadership, we must stress the following several points:

1. We must reorganize the leading groups. There are still many problems involving the leading groups. We must do a good job of further reorganizing them. First, we must resolutely rid the leading groups of three types of people repeatedly mentioned by the comrades of the party Central Committee--people who started out by closely following Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in rebellion, people seriously affected with factional thinking, and people engaged in beating, smashing and looting. We must not hesitate to remove them as potential threats. We need not always relieve them of party membership. In light of the nature of their mistakes and their work abilities, we should place them in proper jobs, so that they can have a chance to correct their mistakes.

The problem of staffing the leading groups with revolutionary, young, educated and professional people must also be solved. Any obstacles that stand in the way of its solution must be removed and overcome. The important thing is that we must properly do ideological work. Some comrades said that the requirement about a leading cadre's age has been too rigidly enforced. This shows that not enough thought has been given to this problem. If we say that county party committee members have an average age of 45--including those over 30, over 40 and over 50, and even those over 60 who are still physically fit--we do not mean that those above 45 are not qualified as county party committee members. Nor do we mean that those cadres over 50 do not have any chance of being promoted. Those comrades over 50 or 60 who qualify can still become county party committee secretaries or prefectural party committee secretaries. Others say that we will no longer promote cadres from among workers and peasants in the future. This is wrong. What we originally meant is that we will no longer promote cadres from among those workers and peasants who are excused from their regular jobs and who have not received much education. Of course exceptions will be made if, through

self-study or training, they have really acquired some technical skills or management abilities. Have not some people from the countryside directly headed for colleges or scientific research units to become university students or post-graduates? Have not some worker-peasant comrades with a given cultural level become engineers, college lecturers, and research fellows? In the past few years, about half of the newly discovered fine writers and artists have not been college graduates but workers or peasants with only secondary school education. That is to say, workers and peasants who do not have a high cultural level can combine work and self-study in raising their cultural level and acquiring technical knowledge. The Ministry of Education now stipulates that anyone who passes the examination should be employed according to ability, regardless of regular school education, spare-time school education, or self-education.

Some comrades say that we are now getting rid of old cadres who have done their jobs, just as we "kill the donkey the moment it leaves the millstone." We cannot say this. Those cadres produced shortly after liberation and especially during the period of land reform are now around 50. They have worked for the party for many years. Most of them have a low cultural level and little scientific knowledge. What is to be done? We cannot kick them out. We must run various training classes and organize them for study. Even if they are excused from their jobs for study for 3 years, they generally can still devote over 10 years to work. It should be said that we committed a mistake after liberation in failing to offer proper training programs to raise the level of worker-peasant cadres. After the victory of the Soviet October Revolution, many worker-peasant cadres were sent to colleges to receive education, and they later became professionals. After the liberation of Yugoslavia, guerrilla fighters or cadres at lower levels were transferred to take up cultural, scientific and theoretical studies, and many kept studying until they graduated from college. They became experts in various fields. Therefore, we must now be determined to solve this problem and raise the cultural, political and scientific levels of these cadres, so that they can meet the needs of the four modernizations.

In order to have young people in leading groups, we must cope with the problem of making old comrades vacate their positions and the problem of old cadres passing on experiences, giving help and setting examples. Some old and weak comrades must retreat from the first to the second line and let the young comrades head for the first line. In a leading group, we may "first take on someone new and then let the old one go." Those middle-aged and young cadres who are in the prime of life and are trained in special fields may be promoted first. After a period of "passing on experiences, lending a helping hand and setting examples," the old cadres may gradually withdraw from the scene. Proper arrangements must be made for those comrades who have retired, as required by written rules, or who are excused from their jobs to recuperate, as far as their daily needs and their political treatment are concerned. Time and tide wait for no man. No matter how one subjectively wishes to do something for the party, there is a limit to what he can do. We must enable those comrades who are trained in special fields and are in the prime of life to stay on the first line and the old comrades to remain behind as counselors or advisers and do what they are capable of. The latter should mainly play the role of passing on experiences, lending a helping hand and setting examples. This is a glorious duty for them. If the problem of the members of the leading group getting old is not solved, this will be highly

unfavorable to socialist modernization. We trust that the old comrades will have the interests of the party and the people in mind and consciously withdraw to the second line or retire to relax in the twilight of life.

2. We must correct unhealthy practices within the party. Our party members and cadres must carry forward the fine style of seeking truth from facts, maintaining ties with the masses and making criticisms and self-criticisms. We must cite and promote those who perform well. Those who promote unhealthy practices in disregard of party principles and party interests may be criticized and subjected to education in ordinary cases, or dismissed and punished in serious cases. By these people, we mean those who assume a double-faced or insincere attitude toward the line and policy of the party Central Committee, who abuse their power to serve their own ends, who gang up and practice nepotism, who practice favoritism and corruption, who abuse authority to seek revenge, who resort to deceit, hoodwinking those up and down, wangling for fame and engaging in speculation and illegal trading, and so forth. Those who are not suitable for the job may be reassigned. Reassignment does not mean punishment. Our cadres are the servants of the people and must accept all kinds of work. The practice of placing personal interests above those of the people is a manifestation of lack of party spirit and must be corrected.

3. We must change the system of holding factory managers responsible under the party committee's leadership into one of holding factory managers responsible under the leadership of the management committee (not the system of one-man leadership). This is designed to make the masses of workers exercise better their rights as masters of the house. It is also meant to improve party leadership and not meant to do away with or weaken party leadership. Party leadership over the masses is not imposed on them according to the decision of the party committee. It is a matter of relying on the party's ideological and political work and party members' exemplary role to turn the party's decisions and instructions into the ideas and conscious actions of the overwhelming majority of people. In reforming the system, we still lack experience and cannot set forth concrete measures to get everything done all at once. What should we do? We must first conduct experiments. We must put factories and colleges on an experimental basis, gain experience from them, work out concrete measures and then gradually popularize them. All those units that have not undergone experiments must be left alone. The system of holding factory managers (or school principals, office heads, and so forth) responsible under the party committee's leadership must still be practiced. But we must change the party committee's practice of overburdening itself with administrative affairs and the affairs of mass organizations. We must truly achieve the aim of making the party manage its own affairs and focus on the work that it should do, and especially on the strengthening of ideological and political work. We must pay attention to developing the initiative of administrative and mass organizations, so that they can have relative independence. In this way, the party committee will not do everything on their behalf and get bogged down in routinism.

4. We must solve the problem of party spirit and affinity to the people. Party spirit is the supreme expression of proletarian qualities. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "All acts and speeches of a Communist Party member must be based on their compatibility with the greatest interests of the broadest mass of people as the



supreme criterion supported by the broadest mass of people." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 1045) However, are contradictions likely to arise between party and government leadership organs and the masses of people? Yes, this is likely. When a certain party policy is incorrect or when certain cadres develop unhealthy practices, the masses of people air their views. This represents a contradiction. We must try to solve it by adopting the method of listening to mass views and correcting mistakes. Meanwhile, among the masses of people, there are always advanced, middle-of-the-road and backward elements. We cannot say that mass views are always correct. If the party is liable to make mistakes, are the masses unlikely to err? Among the masses, some people put forward certain inappropriate or exacting demands because they do not understand the situation as a whole or proceed from individual or partial interests. Such demands are not right. They also represent a contradiction. State, collective and individual interests are, fundamentally speaking, synonymous. However, contradictions are also likely to arise. For example, it is of course right to stabilize commodity prices at present. This is the common, strong demand of the masses. However, is it possible to expect the price of everything to remain unchanged and at an absolutely steady level? It is impossible. We must act according to objective laws which include the laws of value. Where the prices of some articles are not raised, the greater the production the greater the loss incurred. Thus, their production has to be stopped and such goods become unavailable. This is a major problem bearing on state, collective and individual interests. Therefore, we must resolutely keep from raising prices that should not be increased. Where an increase is necessary, we must make things clear to the masses. Take pork for example. There is more pork in summer. The method of lowering its price is adopted to stimulate sales and make the masses eat more of it. When winter comes, the price is raised to its original level. This is also necessary. If the procurement price is raised while the selling price is lowered, the state will suffer a loss. It is not good for the state to suffer too great a loss, as this is against the interests of the people. The state's difficulties are synonymous with those of the people. An improvement in the state's financial position benefits the four modernizations and helps to gradually improve the people's livelihood. Therefore, we cannot just take care of one aspect but must pay simultaneous attention to state, collective and individual interests. At present, we must continue advocating the need for adhering to the four fundamental principles and consolidating and carrying forward the political situation of stability and unity. The aim is to make the people of all nationalities in the country be of one heart and one mind, work to build the state industriously, fight amid hardships and contribute to the four modernizations. This is the party's demand and represents the unity of party spirit and affinity with the people.

We must adhere to the principle of party spirit. Party members must obey the organization. The whole party must obey the central authorities. We must resolutely carry out the ideological, political and organizational lines of the party Central Committee, and we cannot act against the party Central Committee. Those who have different views can put them forward within the party and do so all at once, for the second time or for the tenth time. They can cherish their own views but cannot publish their differing views in newspapers and magazines outside the party, nor can the local press air views against the local party committee. To do so is against party discipline and the culprit must be subjected to criticism and even punishment. Only in this way can the party realize

centralized leadership. Unity is our party's life. The party's general and specific policies must be carried out in line with the concrete conditions of a given area or unit. We cannot act in any way we like. If you consider a party guideline or policy incorrect and fail to act on it without seeking the approval of the higher authorities, and if everyone else does the same, then will our party not disintegrate? What fighting power will there be left? Therefore, we must remain united with the party politically and can never do as we wish and take our own course.

5. The whole party must attach importance to ideological and political work. The first secretaries of party committees at all levels must lead the way. If there is something achieved in our propaganda work, the credit first goes to the party Central Committee. If a province, a region or a county is to succeed in its propaganda work, everything depends on the provincial, regional and county party committees. Those comrades in charge of propaganda work must study well. They must seriously read books and newspapers. Without doing so, how can they be equal to their work? As far as those cadres committed to propaganda work are concerned, reading books and newspapers itself is work. Otherwise, they know nothing. How can they take up propaganda work? The party Central Committee's documents and speeches of the leading comrades of the party Central Committee must be seriously and repeatedly studied until they are thoroughly absorbed. Fundamental Marxist principles and certain important points must also be seriously and repeatedly tackled until everything is understood. We have a large number of cadres working on revolution and construction. In their many years of work, they sometimes perform well and at other times err. Anyway, they have actual experience to their credit. The study of Marxist-Leninist works is made easier for those with practical experience. Things are not so easy to understand for those who have had no actual experience and who rely solely on book knowledge. Marx once said that some intellectuals had difficulty understanding "Das Kapital," while workers found the going much easier because they had been subjected to oppression and exploitation and had personal experience. Therefore, as far as many cadres are concerned, actual work experience provides a very favorable condition for the study of theory.

What are the main aspects of our current ideological and political work? We should put particular emphasis on the following two aspects:

First, we must preach Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's general and specific policies and unify the thinking of the whole party and the broad masses. The aim is to turn the party's general and specific policies into the conscious actions of the masses of people. Meanwhile, we must fight various unhealthy trends toward resisting and acting against the party's general and specific policies and criticize various erroneous ideas and unhealthy phenomena. Only in this way can the party's general and specific policies be thoroughly implemented. In the words of Marx, once mastered by the masses, theory will become a source of tremendous strength. Now some people criticize what Comrade Mao Zedong once said about "consciousness being capable of being turned into matter." Is theory not consciousness? Other people criticize "democracy under centralized guidance." Is the idea of calling for only democracy and not centralization, not wrong? It is wrong to apply the "two whatevers" to Comrade Mao Zedong's works and instructions. It is also not serious or proper to single out selected phrases and words in Comrade Mao Zedong's works for criticism.

Second, we must continuously raise the socialist and communist consciousness of party members and the masses of people and train a new generation of socialist people. People must have a little spirit. In carrying out the four modernizations, we must energetically promote the spirit of revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism and strictly observe discipline. We must also uphold the spirit of self-sacrifice, the spirit of subjecting an individual to the supervision of an organization, subordinating a part to the whole, putting public interests above private ones and serving the people wholeheartedly, and the spirit of "acting like the foolish old man who removed the mountains in reforming China" and of facing difficulties head-on without fear. Only by promoting and carrying forward such a lofty revolutionary spirit among the people of the whole country and creating a new generation of people can we guarantee the realization of the four modernizations. Therefore, we must conduct propaganda and educational work in light of actual work and in light of the actual thinking of party members, cadres and people. Especially within the party, we must use proletarian ideas to overcome various nonproletarian ones, including feudalism thinking, bourgeois thinking, petit bourgeois thinking, and so forth. Concerning the problem of remolding thinking, we should continue to promote this practice. Comrade Mao Zedong said: Everyone gets involved as far as ideological transformation is concerned. Comrade Zhou Enlai also said: Everyone must learn as he lives. Our party members and cadres and our younger generation must pay attention to remolding their thinking and transforming their world outlook, truly foster great communist ideals and faith and cultivate communist moral principles and the communist work style. This is of extremely great importance in carrying out socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004

## CORRECTLY APPROACH THE PROBLEM OF THE PARTY'S WORK STYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 12-13

[Article by Xin Li (6580 7812)]

[Text] We must resolutely oppose bureaucratism and privilege-seeking, and this we must do with perseverance. We must not approach this problem with a spur-of-the-moment enthusiasm. Without opposing bureaucratism and privilege-seeking, we will not be able to improve and strengthen the party's leadership and to maintain close ties with the masses. To a ruling party of a socialist country, this is a major matter of life and death.

In order to oppose bureaucratism and privilege-seeking, we must adopt the correct attitude. This is to say, we must oppose them from the viewpoint of Marxism and not from the viewpoint of petty bourgeois egalitarianism. This point was made by Comrade Mao Zedong in the resolution of the Gutian conference, "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." We must pay attention to two aspects: First, bureaucratism and privilege-seeking must be firmly criticized and rectified. These practices result in isolation from the masses and have been a cause of mass discontent. We must have great determination to effectively rectify them. Furthermore, we must not only talk about this--the more important thing is to do it. In particular, leading cadres must set strict demands on themselves and conscientiously take the lead. On the other hand, we must not practice absolute egalitarianism. For example, can we abolish the use of cars and ask leading cadres who are old and weak to line up and take public buses when attending meetings and visiting the doctor? If some leading cadres live in bigger and quieter quarters, this is also necessary for their work. What we are saying here is that we must certainly oppose privilege-seeking, but there remains a problem of how to oppose privilege-seeking. Some people oppose privilege-seeking from the erroneous point of view of egalitarianism. This should arouse our concern.

We must also take care not to describe our party as being devoid of any merit when opposing bureaucratism and privilege-seeking. Our exposes and criticisms must be beneficial to enhancing the party's prestige--in particular, the prestige of the party Central Committee and the State Council--to bolstering the party's fighting spirit and to promoting close relations between the party and the masses. This should be our starting point when criticizing bureaucratism and privilege-seeking. Any words and actions which hurt the party's prestige are impermissible. At present, some people have taken the opportunity of the party's opposition to bureaucratism and privilege-seeking to poke their fingers into this affair and



fish in troubled waters. They oppose the party's leadership, spread rumors against the party or slander the party and deliberately vilify our leading cadres and our party. These are bad people with ulterior motives who want to stir up trouble. Each party member must step forward boldly, take a clear-cut stand and refute them. In particular, the leading cadres must stand up and speak out. This is a minimum requirement to show our party spirit. At present, some party members totally believe or believe in some of the rumors and even spread them. These party members have degenerated to a pitifully low level. This also shows us how important it is to strengthen the party's ideological and political work!

Another noteworthy thing is that while the "gang of four" maliciously stated that "veteran cadres are democrats, and democrats are capitalist roaders," there are people today who state that veteran cadres are the embodiment of bureaucratism and the privilege-seeking mentality--as if all veteran cadres engage in privilege-seeking or have been engaged in such practices to an extent that causes their degeneration. This is a new trick by which the remnants of the "gang of four" slander the veteran cadres. It is no different from their previous tactic. What they are doing amounts to persisting in advocating "rebellion is justified." Veteran cadres joined the revolution decades ago and have been tempered and have stood the tests of time. Although they have this or that shortcoming or have committed errors, it is absolutely unfair to say that they are the embodiment of bureaucratism and the privilege-seeking mentality. There are indeed veteran cadres who engage in privilege-seeking, and some of them to an alarming degree. However, they constitute a very small minority. Most veteran cadres are good comrades who toil day and night for the party, for the people and for the motherland. Statements which claim that a "bureaucratic class" has emerged in our country are not only contrary to facts but also constitute a kind of reactionary fallacy.

There is also the problem of cadres' children. Some people think that if cadres seek privileges, their children will surely do the same. Is this so? Obviously not. Are there cadres' children who engage in privilege-seeking? Has any one of them violated, or even seriously violated, law and discipline? Yes. However, cadres' children, like the broad masses of young people in our country, are mostly good or relatively good. According to a survey of the departments concerned, the number of young people who display bad behavior both among children of cadres and among children of civilians is only a little bit over 1 percent--just about the same. Thus, to say that all cadres' children are rotten does not conform with facts. Of course, it is justifiable to set stricter demands on cadres' children, because they come from revolutionary families. Some cadres' children violate law and discipline with the knowledge and protection of their parents. In such a case, we must not only punish the cadres' children, but also criticize their parents. If their parents did not have any knowledge of their deeds and did not cover up for them, then we must not involve their parents. It is not necessary to always establish a link between children and parents. When cadres violate the law, this does not have to involve their children. On the other hand, when the children violate the law, if the parents knew nothing about it, they are at most guilty of not educating their children properly. We must not attack the parents by name.

We are firmly against bureaucratism, privilege-seeking and all other unhealthy practices. This is an unshakable principle of the party. However, we must have a correct understanding in order to estimate the seriousness of bureaucratism and the privilege-seeking mentality and to oppose them. We must adopt a realistic attitude and correct methods in order to solve the problem, so that the solution of this problem will be in a manner beneficial to the party and the people's cause. Otherwise, we will only attain the opposite results.

Leading cadres at various levels must take the lead in carrying forward our party's fine traditions and work style. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, we must be concerned with the people's livelihood and pay attention to our work methods. We must go down to the masses and learn about the people's weal and woe. Problems that the masses raised which can be solved must be actively solved on a timely basis. As for those that cannot be solved for the time being, we must clearly explain the reasons to the masses and engage in persuasion and education work. The whole party must be mobilized to do a good job in mass work, to befriend the masses, to be their intimate friends, to have heart-to-heart talks with them and to help in solving ideological and practical problems. We must be concerned with all problems of the masses, from clothing, food, housing and transportation to their daily necessities, to diseases and health, to courtship and marriage. At present, some leading cadres are only doing superficial work. They do not go down to the masses, do not conduct investigation and research and do not concern themselves with the masses' weal and woe. We must firmly overcome such a bureaucratic work style.

To prevent and overcome bureaucratism and solve the problem of privilege-seeking mentality among cadres, we must further reform and improve our regulations and systems. With the necessary institutional setups, everyone will have to follow and will have to accept the masses' supervision. Those comrades serving the leading organs and leading cadres must supervise and help leading cadres obey regulations and should not be more of a hindrance than a help in the observance of regulations. Anything that does not exceed the stipulations of the "Guiding Principles on Inner-Party Life" and the system of wages and compensations is not considered privilege-seeking. Anything that goes beyond the limits of the system are privileges. We must draw a clear-cut dividing line between the two.

Leading cadres must take the lead in adopting various effective measures to rectify the unhealthy tendencies among some cadres in the party. This is an important political task and must absolutely not be taken lightly.

CSO: 4004

## OPPOSE LIBERAL TENDENCIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Xin Tongwen [6580 0681 2429]]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism are the main ways to solve contradictions within the party. With the exception of hostile elements and political degenerates (whose activities raise the question of expulsion from the party), the problem of party comrades who have erred in their political performance, thinking and work, and who have developed the bureaucratic ways of doing things, the practice of seeking privileged treatment and other unhealthy work styles should chiefly be solved through criticism and self-criticism.

Criticism and self-criticism must be on a down-to-earth basis and must not be overdone. We must adhere to the guideline of "unity-criticism-unity" and must not wage ruthless struggles and deal relentless blows. We must assume an attitude of being helpful toward those comrades who have erred and must not discriminate against them. Only by doing these things can we help those comrades who have erred to correct their mistakes and help to strengthen the unity of the party. How can we allow the following situation to occur? If a person has committed a mistake, he is subjected to criticism and punishment and will never be himself again. After reviewing and correcting himself, he is still not excused or given any chance for promotion, and he is ruled out as a candidate for a cadre's post. Comrade Mao Zedong said that we could not put someone to death with one blow of the club. As long as a comrade who has committed serious mistakes sincerely corrects himself, we should trust him. If he has skills, we should employ him. It is wrong to make a practice of fussing over his background and ignore his present performance.

What is worth noting is that now some party organizations and party members have shown liberal tendencies: They leave others' business alone and even shield each other. They swim with the current, play it safe, and keep to themselves as much as possible. We must, on the one hand, resolutely rectify the "leftist" tendency toward bringing the club down on one as soon as one has made a mistake. On the other, we must resolutely fight certain liberal tendencies now existing among certain party organizations. We must have the courage to criticize various erroneous and unhealthy practices. Some people say things like "Plant more flowers and fewer brambles." This means that those who deserve criticism should not be criticized, as this may spoil interpersonal relations and even bring about vengeful acts. This is wrong. What is there to be afraid of? If I criticize

you, you feel unhappy. The most you can do against me is not to vote for me. If I have made a mistake, you can also criticize me. Within the party, party members have equal rights. There is no distinction between high-ranking and ordinary party members. Everyone is equal before truth. We must be sober-minded enough to realize that without a correct way of criticism and self-criticism within the party, our party will become corrupt and degenerate.

Criticisms and self-criticisms within the party may in some cases be carried in the press but need not always be treated this way. We must select typical cases for publication in the press--cases that not only reflect the voice of the masses but help to enlighten the masses of cadres and to strengthen confidence and unity among the cadres and the masses. In the press, we must pay more attention to praising democracy than to making criticisms. We are not complaining about the fact that more criticisms are being made in the press. The problem is that some criticisms are not based on facts or that some are not to the point. As far as leading cadres are concerned, we must welcome and support criticisms, including open criticisms in the press. In no way can we reject and suppress criticisms. The open criticism of our party's weaknesses and mistakes in the press is an important indication of our party's being responsible to the people.

Criticisms in the press must be aimed at various erroneous tendencies and at matters and not the people concerned. That is to say, our criticisms must be directed against various unhealthy practices, against feudalistic thinking, bourgeois thinking, petit bourgeois thinking and various other erroneous ideas, against wrong attitudes and insincere and two-faced acts in resisting and opposing the party's general and specific policies, against bureaucracy and privileged treatment, and so forth. We must sincerely help the comrades to raise their ideological consciousness and correct their mistakes. In making criticisms, we must present facts and reason things out. We must make clear the harm of a mistake, its causes and the ways of correcting it, with regard to theory and ideology. Through criticism, we must distinguish between right and wrong, show the right direction, raise the party members' ideological and political level, and rectify the party's work style.

Criticisms may be made in the press by either mentioning or not mentioning names. Both ways may be used. For example, no name was mentioned in criticizing Xiyang's "directing a westward flow of water toward the east" and other "leftist" mistakes. For so many years, the party Central Committee has called for learning from Dazhai. Now, criticizing Xiyang's mistakes in a down-to-earth manner and affirming any achievements that should be affirmed is a case of summing up experiences and lessons. We cannot write Xiyang and Dazhai off as total failures. Still less can we completely negate those areas and units that learned from Dazhai without making an analysis. This is unfair and incompatible with reality. In a word, we must mention fewer names and be prudent. It may be better to have more criticisms made without mentioning names.

Before mentioning a leading cadre in a criticism, we must first refer the matter to the organ to which he belongs and the person concerned, so as to have everything verified as correct. Meanwhile, we must also consult with the leading comrades of the leadership organ concerned. For example, if a provincial paper wants to criticize by name a cadre under the provincial party committee, it must



refer the matter to the provincial party committee and the provincial government and solicit their opinions. If a central newspaper wants to criticize by name a responsible cadre under the central authorities, it must refer the matter to the State Council, to the Secretariat or to the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and solicit its opinions. If someone convicted is to be criticized in the press, the court's approval must be obtained. Where we want to publish the cases of those subjected to party discipline, we must first consult the Discipline Inspection Commission. If there is disagreement--such as when the newspaper wants to have the name of the person concerned published while the leading comrades of the leading organ want to omit the name or withhold publication of the case--we must seek a solution through consultation. We must reason things out and must not always insist on having our own way. Thus, work can proceed more smoothly and the results can be more rewarding.

We must be particular about the ways of carrying out criticism. Concerning the contradictions among the people and within the party, we must proceed from the need of caring for and helping comrades and assume an attitude of being nice to others and curing the disease to save the patient. We must not only base ourselves on the correct facts but use the proper language. We must ordinarily refrain from using a sarcastic tone. According to Comrade Mao Zedong, problems among the people may also be treated with sarcasm. But sarcasm should be marked by a distinction between ourselves and the enemy. In no way can we greet our own comrades with sarcasm. Our aim in carrying out criticism is to enable those criticized to receive education and other comrades to benefit, too. It is not our aim to hurt our comrades. Of course, some people consider themselves so important that they cannot be touched. Though you are open and frank in criticizing them and you try to be helpful, they may still be unhappy and refuse to go along. We must do our duty to help our comrades, as far as these people are concerned. We should criticize what should be criticized. To criticize a person is to help him and not to topple him. Of course, those who have committed serious mistakes and refuse to correct themselves should be subjected to discipline. It is not the duty of the press to make criticisms.

We must allow a person to state his case and refute criticisms. If I have wrongly criticized you, you can plead your case and refute my criticisms. Newspapers and magazines must take the lead in making criticisms and self-criticisms and play an exemplary role in self-criticism. Newspapers and magazines must not just criticize others. If they themselves have erred, they must also take the initiative to criticize themselves. They must criticize themselves if they have made a mistake criticizing others. They must also do so if they have wrongly praised someone or printed something false. If some articles printed have been based on wrong viewpoints, they must welcome criticism by others and be quick to criticize themselves. They must consciously correct their own mistakes.

In this way, our party not only adheres to the principle of being solemn and serious but also maintains a lively and flexible approach. Only by overcoming corroding liberal tendencies and correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism can we rectify the unhealthy practices within the party, restore the party's fine traditions and fine style, and restore and enhance the party's brilliant image among the masses of people.

**REALISTICALLY SUM UP HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES--READING COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI'S 'A STUDY OF THE PARTY'S SIXTH NATIONAL CONGRESS'**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 16-21

[Article by Teng Wensheng [3326 2429 3932] and Jian Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]]

[Text] "A Study of the Party's Sixth National Congress" was a report made by Comrade Zhou Enlai in March 1944 at the Yanan Party School of the Central Committee. At that time, our party was launching a great rectification movement. In the course of that movement, in a good atmosphere marked by carrying forward inner-party democracy and emancipation of the mind, party members studied historical documents, held lively discussions and debates, conscientiously and scientifically analyzed the major historical events in the various stages of the revolution since the founding of the party, and realistically summed up the experiences, both positive and negative, of leadership over the people in the revolutionary struggle. As a result, the whole party achieved unified understanding and the comrades of the whole party achieved unprecedented unity on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought. This created the necessary ideological and political conditions for insuring victory in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. This report of Comrade Zhou Enlai's was a product of the rectification movement and was a good example of applying materialist dialectics to the summing up of the party's historical experiences.

At present, our party is following the line, principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and leading the people of the whole nation in summing up in depth the basic experiences of socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the People's Republic, and in particular the lessons of history drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution," which lasted a decade. This study of Marxism is something which has profound significance in these new historical conditions. The aim is to let the whole party and all the people study and digest the lessons of their own experiences and achieve unified understanding, and on this basis struggle with one heart and one mind for building a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist country. At this time, it is undoubtedly very beneficial for us to study this report of Comrade Zhou Enlai's, in particular to study the Marxist scientific attitude and methods, displayed in the report, of concretely analyzing historical events, errors in historical practice and the correct things achieved in historical practice.

We must respect historical facts when we sum up historical experiences.

Comrade Zhou Enlai clearly pointed out right at the beginning of his report: "I feel that when we study the sixth national congress, we must possess some insight that is compatible with historical realities as well as with the way of thinking that has been adopted in the current rectification. In the absence of either, we cannot arrive at the correct conclusions." He said: "We must first consider the facts. If the facts are correct, we must say they are correct, and vice versa. We must put the conclusion at the end." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 157) Throughout his report he consistently adopted the Marxist methodology of proceeding from historical realities in all matters and understanding historical events on the basis of the facts in historical practice. Whether he was summing up the history of the first revolutionary civil war period, or summing up the experiences of the "7 August" conference, the enlarged party Central Committee meeting held in November 1927, the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising, or the sixth national congress, he viewed these historical events strictly in the context of the relevant particular historical circumstances, reviewed the actual situations in which they took place, and examined and analyzed them specifically and in the historical perspective in relation to the relevant revolutionary situations, the balance of class forces and the situation inside the party. Thus, his conclusions about these events were "established on the only one firm basis appropriate for them, namely, on the basis of the facts." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 312) For example, he thought that the resolutions of the sixth national congress on such questions as the nature, motive force, prospects and situation of, as well as the strategies and policies concerning, the revolution were correct, and that the line was basically correct. However, there was a lack of knowledge about certain specific matters and there were errors in principle in these matters. Examples of such matters were: the characteristics of the revolution in China were that of peasants' struggles and the setting up of an armed independent regime; the key problem of the revolution was that of the peasants' land; the emphasis in strategic viewpoints had to be the winning over of the intermediate classes; and great attention had to be paid to work in the countryside and the work of building the party. Other examples were the building of the armed strength of the party, the building of political authority and mass work. ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 186) Because his conclusions were based on facts, they were generally accepted by the high-ranking cadres inside the party who participated in the rectification at that time. His conclusions played an important role in eliminating the differences in opinion about these matters inside the party and in unifying people's understanding. They have also stood the test of history. Even now, they still display the depth and correctness which they should have as scientific conclusions.

In all their activities and in dealing with any problems, Marxists always base themselves on facts. They take precise and proven facts as the prerequisite for summing up historical experiences or deciding on strategies, principles and policies. In summing up historical experiences, a basic distinction between the dialectical materialist ideological line and the idealist ideological line is whether we are faithful to historical facts and proceed from facts. To be

faithful to historical facts and to proceed from facts means that when we deal with a historical development, historical events or personalities, we do not add any alien elements or any relations to historical facts in an attempt to substitute factual information for fabricated information. Only the lessons of experience, obtained by proceeding from objectively existing historical facts and analyzing these facts, are genuine and not false. Only such lessons of experience can stand the test of historical practice. Their theoretical or practical value will not diminish with the passage of time. They are highly convincing and are accepted by the masses. They become a force which motivates and encourages the masses to continue to advance. On the contrary, in summing up the lessons of experiences, if we proceed from subjective needs or from private interests, sentiments or emotions of an individual or a small number of people, if we deviate from the specific circumstances and conditions relevant to historical events or personalities in question, or if we even conceal or distort historical facts, then the so-called lessons of experience thus summed up will not have any theoretical or practical value. They will confuse right and wrong, cause confusion in people's thinking, and consequently directly jeopardize the direction of the advance and of the policies governing actions, thus damaging the revolutionary undertaking. This point has been repeatedly verified by past facts. During the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their counterrevolutionary cliques flaunted the banner of studying the party's history and summing up historical experience. They vigorously preached such reactionary subjective idealist absurd theories as "facts must be subordinate to political needs" and "in handling materials we must proceed from the needs of struggle and not from the materials available to us." They deliberately obliterated, distorted and fabricated the history of our party in the democratic revolution period and after the founding of the People's Republic as well as the major events and major conferences in our party's history. They labeled a large number of proletarian revolutionaries who had performed outstanding feats as so-called "democrats" and "capitalist roaders." They engineered a large number of wrong and fabricated cases. This was done to serve their counterrevolutionary aim of usurping the highest power of our party and our state. We must forever remember the lesson of this experience.

## II

In summing up historical experiences, we must realistically analyze the errors in historical practice and thereby find ways and methods to avoid repeating these errors. This is fully and vividly manifested in Comrade Zhou Enlai's report.

The revolutionary cause of the proletariat is a new one in man's history. We absolutely must imagine that in the arduous and complex struggle to accomplish this great task, there would not be any extremely serious setbacks or it would not be necessary to make numerous attempts and engage in repeated practice. Because of the limitations of historical conditions and cognitive ability, it is very difficult for the proletarian political party and Marxist revolutionaries, who are the leaders in this cause, to avoid committing errors of various kinds, including serious errors concerning the line, in the actual process of exercising leadership over the progress of the revolutionary cause. There is not a single party or leader in this world that does not commit errors. For a militant party



of a progressive class, committing errors is not something to be feared. What should be feared is that it cannot adopt a correct attitude toward errors that have been committed so as to learn what should have been learned. There can be three different kinds of attitudes toward errors. The first is to deny them or to seek various excuses to cover them up or absolve oneself from or evade blame. The second is to be frightened and defeated by the errors and the consequent difficulties, so that one loses confidence and becomes pessimistic. The third is to openly acknowledge the errors, conscientiously reveal the causes of the errors, analyze their nature and consequences, and carefully study ways of correcting them. The first two kinds of attitudes are incorrect and not materialist. Only the third is the Marxist attitude of dealing with errors, as well as an important sign of a high sense of responsibility toward the party and the people. In his report Comrade Zhou Enlai consistently adopted such a Marxist and scientific attitude toward the historical errors of the party.

Comrade Zhou Enlai bravely faced up to, conscientiously disclosed and made no secret of the errors of the party in its leadership work at the time of and prior to the sixth national congress, in particular those errors directly concerning him. The conclusion about the Nanchang Uprising is marked proof. This uprising was a military attempt by our party to oppose the Kuomintang. The sixth national congress fully affirmed the great historical feat of this uprising, but also pointed out the errors involved. However, Comrade Zhou Enlai, as the principal leader of this uprising, was not content with this. In his report he analyzed in great depth the errors in the Nanchang Uprising on the basis of the new practical experiences and new knowledge acquired after the sixth national congress. He said: "The sixth national congress did not adequately sum up the experiences of the Nanchang Uprising." "Although the party Central Committee pointed out five errors committed during the Nanchang Uprising, it did not point out its principal error. I think that the principal error was that of not adopting the policy of waging a local revolution. After the uprising, we should not have evacuated our forces. Even if our forces were to be evacuated, they should not have moved so far away. At that time, if we had organized a land reform, we could have gathered the students dismissed from the military school at Wuhan and some of the remnant peasants who participated in the uprising from Hunan and Hubei. Then we could have developed our forces on a larger scale. However, after the Nanchang Uprising, we did not stay there and organize land reform, but moved far away to Shantou. We did not slowly develop our strength locally, but launched a simple military attack and then moved to the coast, hoping to get a supply of munitions from the Soviet Union." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 173) This fully shows Comrade Zhou Enlai's thorough materialist spirit of facing up to errors. Comrade Zhou Enlai's life was one of a great Marxist. He was unselfish and fearless. He rigorously examined himself. He repeatedly studied and summed up the errors in his work in conjunction with the comrades of the whole party and the people. He never ascribed merits to himself and shifted errors onto others. At any time or place, he was always open and aboveboard and always showed his true colors when he appeared in the political arena or among the broad masses of people. Whether in times of victory or setbacks, his heart was at one with those of the comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole nation. Therefore, in the "Great Cultural Revolution," no matter how Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vilified him or vigorously attacked and framed him, his brilliant image in the eyes of the party

members and the people was not dimmed in the slightest. It was the ugly counter-revolutionary gang of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" themselves who became utterly isolated. It is a manifestation of strength for Marxists and communists to bravely admit and correct their own mistakes. They will thus win the greater trust and support of the people and will not lose anything by so doing. In Comrade Zhou Enlai's words: "The prestige of the leaders is enhanced by correcting mistakes and not by covering them up." (Ibid., p 131) This is a profound historical truth.

In studying the errors of the party in its leadership work at the time of the sixth national congress and earlier, Comrade Zhou Enlai consistently focused his attention on analyzing the causes, nature and consequences of errors in order to facilitate the genuine learning of lessons and correcting of errors. In his report, he not only analyzed in detail the specific manifestations and the causes of the errors of the sixth national congress, but also honestly and precisely explained the nature and effects of the errors. He said: "There are errors in the principles of the sixth national congress which will produce an adverse influence in the future." He continued: "However, these errors have not become errors in the line or given rise to factionalism, although some such tendencies exist. These tendencies later exerted some influence in the subsequent formation of the Lin Biao line and of factionalism, but cannot be held solely responsible for it." (Ibid., pp 186-187) Comrade Zhou Enlai criticized the act of simply and sharply denouncing the errors committed by party members or of turning the struggle for correcting mistakes into a simple investigation of determining the personal responsibility of those who committed the errors. He thought that this would not be conducive to correcting mistakes or to developing the party and the revolutionary cause. When he discussed the main defects of the "7 August" conference, he said: "First, the '7 August' conference thoroughly denounced opportunism and pointed out the necessity of opposing the Kuomintang's White terror by means of uprisings. However, it did not clearly suggest specific ways of achieving this so as to point out the direction for the whole party. Second, the '7 August' conference produced bad tendencies in inner-party struggle. Chen Duxiu was not allowed to attend the conference, and the opposition to opportunism was regarded as a personal attack on those people responsible for opportunist errors. Therefore, as a subsequent development, in opposing opportunism various localities just struggled against one or two responsible persons, who were taken as the embodiment of opportunism, and dismissed them from their posts. It was thought that opportunism would thus disappear and everything would be all right. This was a mistake of aiming only at punishment." (Ibid., pp 171-172) The "7 August" conference was convened at a critical moment when the great revolution failed. The right opportunist line of Chen Duxiu's was a principal cause of this failure. Such a grave error in the line as well as the tremendous losses and difficulties it brought to the cause of the party aroused the righteous indignation of the comrades of the party and the revolutionary people. This was understandable. However, to sum up the lessons of the bitter experience of the failure of the great revolution and to thoroughly rectify the right opportunist line of Chen Duxiu's, one must definitely not proceed from the emotion of righteous indignation. The graver the error and the greater the difficulties, the more necessary it is to remain sober-minded and to adopt an attitude of analyzing the error calmly and realistically. Only thus could the comrades of the whole party be helped to understand the error clearly and learn the appropriate lessons from

it, so that the political line of the party could take the correct road. Lenin said: "Whether in the past or at present, our strength lies in our ability to assess even the gravest failure very calmly and to learn from the experiences of failure how we should alter our mode of activities." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 71) It is easy to bitterly denounce an erroneous line in order to display one's revolutionary spirit. However, precisely because this is too easy, it is not the right method of correcting mistakes and overcoming difficulties. On our road of revolution and construction, and in summing up historical experiences, we must never forget the historical lesson revealed by Comrade Zhou Enlai which he drew from the "7 August" conference. We must advocate adopting the comprehensive and scientific viewpoint as well as preventing one-sidedness and impetuous action in dealing with errors or assessing history and personalities. Only thus can we comply with Marxism as well as work for the interests and aspirations of the whole party and the people of the whole nation.

Engels said: "A great class, as a great nation, learns faster from the results of the errors it commits than from any other aspect." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 325) He also said: "The best way to understand theories clearly is to learn from one's mistakes and from one's painful experiences." ("Selections From the Correspondence of Marx and Engels," p 440) Our party and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation have been good at learning from the results of errors committed by itself or themselves and from its or their own painful experiences. This is eloquently illustrated by the great Yanan rectification movement, a series of works by Comrade Mao Zedong, this report of Comrade Zhou Enlai's and the "Resolutions on Certain Historical Questions" adopted at the 7th Plenary Session of the Sixth CCP Central Committee. After the smashing of the "gang of four," in particular after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party openly acknowledged and solemnly disclosed the errors in our past work and led the people of the whole nation to rapidly correct everything that had been reversed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We guided the line of the party back to the Marxist road, enabled the vast numbers of cadres and the masses to widen their horizon and revitalized our socialist cause. This fact has again illustrated the point.

Over the 31 years since the founding of the People's Republic, our socialist cause has taken a tortuous path and the direction of our work has been marked by many errors, in particular such a grave error as the "Great Cultural Revolution," which was a great catastrophe for the people. Learning from such errors is undoubtedly painful, but it is necessary and extremely beneficial. Only some 4 years or more have elapsed since the smashing of the "gang of four." Our party and people have already gained an understanding, to a depth previously unattained since the founding of the People's Republic, concerning the internal contradictions of a socialist society, the laws of the economic, political and cultural development of socialism, the question of effectively bringing the superiority of socialism into play, the strengthening and improvement of party leadership, the importance of reforming and perfecting the party and the state system and so on. This progress precisely results from conscientiously learning lessons from our past errors. If we fail to make this progress, if we underestimate or doubt our party's ability to educate and transform itself, if we distrust our party leadership, underestimate our own capabilities and spread pessimism and despair, and if we merely hold ourselves aloof, count the number of past errors and setbacks and dwell on the



difficulties they caused, then we are not real revolutionaries and our attitude is not one of genuinely shouldering responsibility toward the people, the state and the nation. History will continue to verify that, under the leadership of the party, the people of our country will definitely be able to completely conquer all difficulties brought about by errors and setbacks and achieve great victory.

III

To sum up historical experiences, we must treat and analyze dialectically the correct things arrived at in revolutionary practice from a historical perspective. In his report, Comrade Zhou Enlai applied the Marxist dialectical and historical viewpoint and made a very profound exposition, which was compatible with the realities of historical development, on the only correct road for the Chinese revolution--the road of encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them--which was taken by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong. His exposition certainly played an important role in helping the comrades of the whole party to strengthen their consciousness of adhering to the correct revolutionary road and to Ma. Zedong Thought.

Comrade Zhou Enlai said that the sixth national congress did not give rise to the viewpoints of "taking the rural areas as the center" and of "the rural areas conquering the cities." He said: "In the light of the actual situation and theoretical level at that time, it was impossible for the sixth national congress to arrive at the ideology of putting the proletariat in the leadership and taking the rural areas as the center. At that time, although we had peasant guerrilla warfare, our experiences were inadequate and we were still probing.... In both Chinese and foreign history there had been no experience of encircling the cities from the rural areas. The actual situation of our country at that time was that the guerrilla movement in the entire rural revolution was in great adversity. The war between the forces of Chiang Kai-shek and the faction whose base was in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region had not broken out. Under this condition, it was impossible to affirm the viewpoint of taking the rural areas as the center." He continued: "The conclusion could only be drawn after the Chinese party had undergone a long period of practice and had acquired the proven ability to train itself into a strong Bolshevik party even when isolated from the urban proletariat." "In 1929 and 1930, after the sixth national congress, this viewpoint should be arrived at." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai, Vol 1, pp 177-178) Comrade Zhou Enlai then concretely analyzed the process in Comrade Mao Zedong's cognition of this question. He said: "There is a process of development in Comrade Mao Zedong's cognition of this question. Before the great revolution, Comrade Yu - ying [1926 0108 5391] wrote a letter to Comrade Mao Zedong when he found Tao An - si [7118 5887 4249] and others working in the rural areas. Comrade Mao Zedong replied that they were already too busy with the work among workers in the cities and could not spare any time for work in the rural areas. In 1925 he went home to rest and conducted some rural surveys in Hunan, and then began to pay attention to the peasant question. At the time of the sixth national congress, Comrade Mao Zedong had realized the need to pay attention to work in the rural areas, the importance and feasibility of setting up armed independent regimes in the rural areas and other matters. However, the sixth national congress itself did not come to understand these questions. Nevertheless,

I think that at that time Comrade Mao Zedong had not arrived at the idea of focusing our work on the rural areas and letting the Communist Party represent the proletariat in exercising leadership over the peasants' guerrilla warfare. He still took the work in the cities as the central task. Initially, he still advocated establishing soviet areas in the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi border region in order to influence and assist the work in the cities. It was in his letter to Lin Biao that he began to clearly point out the need to establish Red regions and set up armed independent regimes. He thought this was the most important factor in promoting a high tide in the national revolution, that is, he now took the rural areas as the center." (Ibid., p 179)

What should we learn from these expositions of Comrade Zhou Enlai's?

First, in China, which was a semicolonial and semifeudal country in which the peasants were in the majority, in which agriculture occupied a very high proportion of the national economy, and in which the development of politics and economy was unbalanced, our party inevitably had to undergo an arduous and tortuous process of exploration in applying basic Marxist principles, in directing the revolutionary struggles of the people and in looking for a correct road of revolution appropriate to China's situation. "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," written by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1930, showed that our Marxist party, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, had solved the problem of the road of China's democratic revolution, not only practically but also theoretically. Nine years had passed from the time of the birth of the party to that time. Those 9 years saw the failure of the great revolution, a series of sanguinary struggles such as the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the Guangzhou Uprising, and the incurring of very great losses. This fact illustrates that the birth of any new, correct thing which is compatible with the law of historical development and which propels history forward is not easy or smooth. It is a process of tortuous advance embodying setbacks and failures.

Second, the birth of anything correct invariably necessitates the existence of certain historical conditions and the accumulation of certain practical experiences. The sixth national party congress did not and could not solve the problem of the road of China's democratic revolution, because of the historical conditions existing at that time and because of the practical experiences and theoretical level of our party. People gain understanding of things only in relation to the conditions of their own times, and the extent of these conditions determines the extent of understanding. It is unrealistic fantasy and idealism to expect the birth of something correct before conditions are ripe.

Third, any correct idea or understanding of any truth is not achieved once and for all, but must be achieved on the basis of repeated practice and repeated summing up of experiences, including failures. Even such a great Marxist as Comrade Mao Zedong, who made unique contributions to opening up the correct road for China's democratic revolution and performed great historical feats, did not gain cognition of this correct road all of a sudden, but had to experience a process of continuous deepening and gradual advance from not knowing to knowing and from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. Therefore, Comrade Zhou Enlai concluded: "Comrade Mao Zedong's thought was developing." This scientific and realistic conclusion is absolutely compatible with the Marxist theory of

cognition. If a person's cognition were not taken as a process of development, but considered in absolute terms and made mysterious, this would be completely against the dialectics of the process of cognition. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" thoroughly negated the scientific conclusion that Comrade Mao Zedong's thought was developing. They vigorously incited such religious fanaticism as the so-called "three points of loyalty" and "four points of being boundless." They vigorously preached the so-called "theory of the pinnacle," "every word being the truth" and "one word being equivalent to ten thousand." They tried to turn Comrade Mao Zedong into a god and Mao Zedong Thought into a religious creed as well as something mysterious, closed and unchanging. The criminal aim was to vainly attempt to radically smother the vitality of Mao Zedong Thought and ruin Mao Zedong Thought and the cause of socialism. If we do not thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influences of the modern superstition created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we will not be able to treat Mao Zedong Thought scientifically, sum up the lessons of historical experiences realistically and push forward the smooth development of the cause of socialism.

The socialist cause has been a living reality for the hundreds of millions of people in our country. However, historical practice has proved that it is a prolonged and extremely complicated process of exploration and practice for socialism to go from being an ideal to being a reality and from being imperfect to being relatively perfect. Over the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, our party has led the people with utmost efforts in exploring a correct road for building socialism appropriate to China's situation. There have been experiences of both success and failure. There is still a very long way to go before the exploration is accomplished. However, if we follow the direction pointed out by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, use our minds well, free ourselves from old ideas, realistically sum up the lessons of past historical experiences, and on this basis continue to carry out new exploration and practice, then we can definitely open a road of socialist construction suited to the situation of our country. Our socialist system will then be able to be gradually perfected and to display increasingly greater superiority.

CSO: 4004

**CONTINUE TO CARRY FORWARD THE SPIRIT OF UTTER DEVOTION TO OTHERS WITHOUT ANY  
THOUGHT OF ONESELF**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 22-25

[Article by Jian Si [1017 1835]]

[Text] In this new historical period, members of the CCP, cadres and the masses should persevere in learning to foster the spirit promoted by Comrade Mao Zedong: "the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself." This is the communist spirit, a precious heritage of the CCP. Now, to establish a good spirit concerning the party and the people and to build a modernized, highly democratic and highly civilized, powerful socialist country, we must adhere to fostering this communist spirit. However, some people are "criticizing" this communist spirit. This is a serious question that deserves the attention of each and every one of us.

As we all know, "the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself" is Comrade Mao Zedong's sincere appraisal of Dr Bethune, an international communist fighter and a friend of the Chinese people. Dr Bethune was a member of the Canadian Communist Party. He came all the way from Canada to help our people in our resistance against the Japanese invasion. His motivation was totally unselfish. He took the liberation of the Chinese people as his own cause and went through fire and water with the Chinese people. For the Chinese people, he contributed his own precious life. This noble communist spirit is an eternal model for us to follow. Comrade Mao Zedong's high praise of Dr Bethune's revolutionary spirit expressed the sincere sentiment of our party and our people. Comrade Mao Zedong's call to learn from Dr Bethune was gradually transformed into action by the CCP members and revolutionary fighters. During the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, and between the founding of the nation and the outbreak of the "Cultural Revolution," it was common to see our revolutionary fighters carry forward Dr Bethune's spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself and also carry forward Zhang Side's [1728 1835 1795] spirit of thoroughly serving the people. In the early 1960's, activities were organized to encourage young people to learn from Lei Feng. During that time, the good party spirit and the social atmosphere were inseparable from this kind of learning.

The cause of proletarian liberation demands that all believers in communism follow "the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself." The CCP is a political party that works in the interests of the masses. It has no intention at all of making profits for itself. As Comrade Mao Zedong said,



"All our party's work is for the sake of the laboring people of all nationalities, personal benefits must be sacrificed." The ultimate aim of the party is to liberate all mankind and realize the great ideal of communism. Only when the members and fighters of the Communist Party, just and loyal to their cause, are willing to strive and adhere to this principle can mankind's most beautiful ideal be realized. Marx, the founder of the world communist movement and the great leader of the proletariat, is a model of showing the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of himself. Some of Marx' favorite sayings were: "Work for mankind." "I am a citizen of the world. wherever I go, I work." "I have contributed all my wealth to the revolutionary struggle." For the cause of human liberation, Marx selflessly struggled all his life and founded Marxist revolutionary theory. Nurtured by Marxism, countless members and revolutionary fighters of the communist party struggle for the liberation of all mankind and the interests of the people. "The selfish people are the first to be destroyed." This was well stated by Ostrovskiy, author of "How the Steel Was Tempered," who is much respected by our young people. The selfish person lives for himself. Without the "ego" he cannot exist. In front of him is egoism and sorrow, which is all bleak. To Ostrovskiy, neither the family nor love represents the true beauty of life. He said, "To live only for the family is animal selfishness, to live only for -- person is too mean and to live for oneself is humiliating." How noble is this spiritual belief!

"The spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself" reflects an elevated feature of the followers of communism. Without this feature, one cannot be a qualified member of the Communist Party. The older generation of revolutionaries and revolutionary fighters, bearing this great communist goal in mind, implemented "the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself" by leaving their families for the revolution and dedicating their lives to the liberation of the Chinese people. They ignored danger and death and went through all kinds of hardships and struggles, always in the firm belief that communism could eventually gain victory. Revolutionary martyrs, like Lin Xiangqian [2651 4382 6197], Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773], Zhao Shiyan [6392 0013 3508], Xiao Chun [5618 2806 1166], Xiang Jingyu [0686 6226 0056], Yun Daiying [1926 0108 5391], Deng Zhongxia [6772 0022 1115], Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404] and Qu Jitubai [4234 4428 4101], manifested the noble communist spirit by sacrificing themselves for the well-being of the masses. Were their thoughts and deeds for a selfish reason? There were also Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695], who displayed unyielding heroism; Dong Cunrui [5516 1317 3843], who gave his life to blow up a blockhouse; Lei Feng, who stood fast at his humble post to wholeheartedly serve the people; Zhang Zhiyin, who sacrificed herself in defense of the truth during the 10 years of turbulence, and many others. Did they only work for their personal interests? To say that these revolutionary martyrs did things only for themselves and not for others is to degrade them and distort history.

Historical facts show that all the great scientists who contributed to the world were selfless, because their aim was to dedicate themselves to scientific studies for the benefit of mankind. As Marx said, "Science is certainly not a selfish joy. Those who are fortunate enough to devote themselves to scientific research should first serve mankind with their knowledge." Selfishness is not in accordance with the spirit of science. Without the selfless spirit of devotion to science, the great scientists Monsieur and Madame Curie could not have discovered radium and



opened up the new realm of nuclear physics. The Curie's devoted all their time and efforts to the study of radium. To some people, a tremendous fortune could have been made if a patent on radium were to have been obtained. However, Madame Curie firmly said, "We will not do this. It is against the spirit of science," and "we must not profit from this discovery." Finally the Curie's unreservedly publicized their finding and showed their selfless spirit with deeds. The great biologist Darwin was one "who took it as his duty to help others" and "the noblest aspect of Darwin's character was his selfless heart." James (Bangting), ("Darwin") Gao Shiqi [7559 1102 0336], one of our nation's well-known biologists, contributed to mankind by conquering the "little devil" bacteria. He did so by using his own body to experiment with bacteria, but in so doing he was disabled for the rest of his life. The Curie's and Darwin did not have the communist world outlook and Gao Shiqi was not a communist when he used his own body to experiment with bacteria, but what they did truly reflected "the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself."

The selfless practice of countless people is a merciless blow to those who advocate selfishness. Those who hold that the selfless spirit is just an "illusion" and that it cannot be maintained are consciously or unconsciously, actually following the philosophy of the exploiting class. They spread this viewpoint in order to lead people to the narrow road of caring only for oneself and nobody else, so that the people will ignore the nation's fate, the future of the modernization program and the collective cause. This is a dangerous tendency that merits our attention.

One criticism is that the "spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself" is unscientific, for it stresses benefiting "others." If the stress on benefiting "others" is "unscientific," is the stress on benefiting "self" then "scientific"? Benefiting "self" does not refer to justified personal interest, but rather to egoism, in which one pursues only benefits for himself and his own pleasures. The egoists care only for themselves, but never for their comrades or the masses. They always think first of themselves and are never responsible at work. Our party adheres to fostering "the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself," which stresses benefiting the people, nation, society and collective. According to Comrade Mao Zedong, "selfishness, passivism, idleness, corruption, wanting to be in the limelight and so on, are most despicable. Selflessness, activism, diligence, discipline, immersing oneself in hard work and so on, are most respectable." The members of the CCP and the CYL and the masses of cadres must place the interests of the party and the people above everything else. "It is more important to care more for the party and the masses than for the individual, and for others than for oneself." It is equally important to be extremely responsible at work and to be enthusiastic about one's comrades and the people. This noble spirit, formed through long periods of revolutionary struggle, should be fostered and passed from one generation to another. Of course, in advocating "the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself," we are not negating the individual's interests. We are only saying that the individual's interests and the collective's interests should be properly combined. Everybody knows that the state's interests, the collective's interests and the individual's interests exist under the socialist system. There is at times some conflict between the three, but basically they are part of the same front and are not in conflict with each other. Stalin said that in a socialist society "there

should not and could not be any irreconcilable antagonism between the individual's interests and the collective's interests," and that "socialism cannot discard the individual's interests. Only a socialist society can fully satisfy the individual's interests." In handling the relation between the state's interests, the collective's interest and the individual's interests, we should take into consideration all three. The leaders should start with the people's interests, give the people material benefits and earnestly care for the people's livelihood. The individual should place the state's interests and the collective's interest in first place and sacrifice his interests if necessary, and not vice versa. Just imagine this: Without an independent, prosperous and powerful state, the masses will be exploited and the individual's interests cannot be protected at all. In our nation, the party and the government sincerely work for the benefit of the masses and make satisfying the people's demands for material and cultural life their basic aim in developing production. We must continue to educate the cadres and the masses to ardently love the collective and the nation, to be the first to contribute to our motherland, to mankind and to the four modernizations. We must also emulate the advanced, learn from and overtake them, help the less advanced and foster the communist spirit. Those who spread the idea that men are selfish and nobody in this world is selfless are looking for a "theoretical basis" for extreme individualism. Their argument is not worth debating. The sacrifices of the martyrs in history and in the contemporary epoch are glorious examples of the "spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought for oneself." Everyone is convinced of this. Of course, we should not conceal the fact that some of our party members and cadres are extremely selfish, and some have even gone beyond the bounds of rules and discipline. However, we cannot be one-sided and exaggerate this situation, saying that "there are no good people in Hongdong County." In order to reform the minority and educate the majority of party members and cadres, we must all the more emphasize and establish the noble communist spirit, and not abandon and negate it.

Therefore, the "basis" for opposition to the "spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought for oneself" is groundless. It is absurd to "criticize" this spirit, for this will cause ideological confusion and lead to tremendous consequences. Abandoning communist ideology and morality not only means abandoning the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but also means accelerating a flood of wrong thinking and negating the four basic principles. If this is done, what will be the point of talking about the modernization program, the nation's future or the people's happiness? Therefore, whether to oppose the "spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought for oneself" or to adhere to it is a question that relates to whether we should promote the communist spirit and morality. It is also related to what should be the guide in our party's and our nation's political life. We should seriously deal with this question of principle on facts and reasoning, foster the selfless spirit and criticize the corrupt bourgeois idea of harming others for the sake of one's own ends. In short, we should foster healthy trends and condemn evil trends.

Some people might think that the selfless spirit is in conflict with the principle of "to each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and will lead to ignoring the people's livelihood. Others might think that, since the principle of distribution according to people's work satisfies the laborers' own daily needs, it is selfish. These viewpoints are not true, either in theory

or in practice. Under the socialist system, public ownership has replaced private ownership. The laboring people have emerged from exploitation and suppression to become the masters of the means of production and the nation. They need to go through a long period of struggle before attaining the common wealth. As masters, they bring into play socialist initiative and creativity. They have no fear of hardship or sacrifice and incessantly labor to create wealth for the collective and the nation. This conscious spirit of laboring for socialism is in accordance with the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself. It also meets the demand of the principle of "to each according to his ability and to each according to his work." In the distribution of consumer goods among individuals in a socialist society, the principle of "to each according to his work" has replaced that of "to each according to his wage." The laborers' personal material benefits are derived in accordance with his contribution to society. Without a selfless spirit of labor, we cannot carry out "to each according to his best" and personal material benefits cannot be protected. Ignoring the laborers' personal material benefits will hinder the implementation of "to each according to his work" and dampen the laborers' initiative. These two complement each other. The principle of "to each according to his ability and to each according to his work" shows the superiority of the socialist system and reflects a unity between the selfless spirit of labor and the concern for the individual's material benefits. It is the mentality of a hired hand to explain the principle of "to each according to his work" as "doing no more than one is paid for." This attitude reflects either a lack of scientific understanding of the socialist principle of distribution or a conscious or unconscious confusion of "distribution according to work" and "distribution according to wage," which means a confusion between socialism and capitalism and in turn an unjustifiably low regard for our laborers' socialist awareness. We should bring into full play the superiority of the socialist system, conscientiously implement the principle of "to each according to his ability and to each according to his work," foster the people's initiative and enthusiasm as much as possible, push production forward and satisfy the people's demand for continually improving their material and cultural life.

It is our people's greatest and most long-term interest to build our nation into a highly democratic and highly civilized, powerful socialist country. By "highly civilized," we mean not only in the material aspect but also in the spiritual aspect. The spiritual aspect includes, on the one hand, universal education and a higher scientific and cultural level and, on the other hand, communist ideology, ideals, faith, morality and revolutionary viewpoints, comradeship between people, and so on. Without this kind of spiritual civilization, communist ideology and morality, how can we develop socialism? Without them, we will be spiritually disarmed. In the new democratic revolutionary period, we publicly declared that the communist ideology was the guiding ideology in our work and the goal of communist morality was to discipline the words and deeds of the members of the Communist Party, who are the vanguard. In the new historical period of the four modernizations, we should all the more boldly and assuredly spread communist ideology so as to educate the people of all nationalities, especially all CCP members, to further foster the spirit of self-sacrifice, selflessness and caring for others before oneself, of suppressing all enemies and overcoming all difficulties to attain victory, and of maintaining revolutionary optimism. We must also persevere, boldly go forward and seek truth from facts. In this way, under the correct guidance of the party Central Committee, the cadres and masses will certainly strive to the end with one heart and one mind to realize the task of readjusting our national economy and building our nation into a modern, powerful socialist country.

## AN INVESTIGATION INTO DEVELOPING THE STRONG POINTS OF CANE SUGAR PRODUCTION IN GUANGDONG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 26-28

[Article by Liang Zhao [2733 6856], Liu Xiaotie [0491 1420 6993] and Li Pumi [2621 5543 1736]]

[Text] I. What Are the Strong Points of Cane Sugar Production in Guangdong?

There are favorable geographical and climatic conditions for growing sugarcane in Guangdong. Sugarcane is a crop grown in tropical and subtropical regions. A high temperature and lots of rain are required during its growth period. At the time of maturity, a drier and cooler climate is preferred. Although soil requirements are not as strict as climatic requirements for the growth of sugarcane, a thick and easily cultivated soil with high water retention is required. The most ideal soil is alluvium deposited by a river. Owing to natural conditions, places suitable for planting sugarcane in our country are mainly found in Taiwan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian and Sichuan.

The Zhujiang River delta in Guangdong is south of the Tropic of Cancer. It has fertile soil and a subtropical and oceanic climate. The average temperature throughout the year is approximately 22 degrees centigrade, and the annual rainfall exceeds 1,600 mm. There are more than 330 frost-free days and 1,500 to 2,500 hours of daylight a year. The soil and climatic conditions are very suitable for the growth of sugarcane. The average per-mu yield in the main sugarcane-producing regions such as Panyu, Shunde and Zhongshan was approximately 6 tons in 1978. The per-mu yield in high-yielding production brigades reached 8 to 9 tons, and even more than 10 tons. In 1978, the total output of sugarcane in Guangdong was 8.95 million tons, which accounted for 42.4 percent of the total output of the whole country, and its output of cane sugar accounted for 45.7 percent of the total output of the whole country. In the whole country, with the exception of Taiwan Province and southern Fujian, there are few places more suitable for planting sugarcane than the Zhujiang River delta.

Planting sugarcane brings good economic results in agriculture. (1) The cost of production is low and the income is high. The output value of 1 mu of paddy rice in Guangdong was 112 yuan in 1979 and the cost of production was 106 yuan. The output value of 1 mu of sugarcane was 125 yuan and the cost of production was 68 yuan. The income from 1 mu of sugarcane was 52 yuan more than that from paddy rice. The per-unit yield of paddy rice in the whole province in 1979 was the



highest ever recorded in history, while the per-unit yield of sugarcane had not reached the highest level in history. In the Tianlu production brigade in Xinhui County in 1977, the return for a day's labor in sugarcane production was 4.63 yuan. The return for a day's labor in paddy production was only 0.809 yuan. This production brigade planted 690 mu of sugarcane in 1979, on only 10 percent of its cultivated land, but the income derived from it accounted for 30 percent of the total revenue. We will attempt to assess the economic results of planting paddy rice and sugarcane in the Tianlu production brigade according to prices on the international market. Based on the per-mu yield of 8.75 tons of sugarcane in the Tianlu production brigade in 1977, 1 ton of sugar was processed from every mu of sugarcane. Sales on the international market brought an income of \$242 (this was the average price in the 1970's. There has since been a big increase in the price of sugar on the international market.) The per-mu yield of paddy rice was 0.628 tons. This was processed into approximately 0.44 tons of husked rice. Sale on the international market at that time only brought an income of \$136. After deducting agricultural production costs, industrial processing charges, commercial profits and so on, the peasants obtained much more net income from planting sugarcane than from planting paddy rice.

(2) There is great potential for increasing production, and the rate of sugar extraction is high. In Guangdong Province, and in the Zhujiang River delta in particular, the per-unit yield of sugarcane has for a very long time been the highest in the whole country. The average rate of sugar extraction from sugarcane here is 12.5 percent. This is 50 percent higher than the rate of sugar extraction from sugarcane in Zhejiang and Jiangsu. According to the statistics of 7 principal production counties in the Zhujiang River delta, 1.6 mu of land can yield 1 ton of sugar on average. This is double, and even 5 or 6 times higher than, the production in some provinces. The amount of sugar produced from 1 mu of sugarcane in Zhongshan County in 1978 was equal to that produced from 3 mu of sugarcane in Jiangxi and 6 mu of sugarcane in Hunan. For the production of 1 million tons of sugar, 4 to 5 million mu of cultivated land are required in other provinces, but in the Zhujiang River delta, only 1.6 million mu are required. In addition, Guangdong has a much greater potential for increasing the production of sugarcane than for increasing the production of paddy rice. Investigation shows that from 1978 to the extraction season in 1979, there were 231 production brigades with a per-mu yield of more than 8 tons of sugarcane and 379 production brigades with a per-mu yield of more than 10 tons in Guangdong Province. The per-mu yield reached 13 tons in some production brigades. However, the average per-mu yield of sugarcane is now only 4 to 5 tons in the Zhujiang River delta region. In this region, the same investments in planting sugarcane would bring much more economic value than in planting paddy rice.

(3) Convenient transportation and small investments. In the Zhujiang River delta, rivers are intertwined and there is a dense network of waterways. The charges for transporting sugarcane by waterways are very low. The cost of transporting 1 ton of sugarcane is only 1 to 4 yuan. In building sugar refineries which extract 1,000 tons of sugar a day, the construction of transportation lines alone requires an investment of 5 million to 10 million yuan in other provinces. This investment can be saved by transportation through waterways in the Zhujiang River delta.

The level of development for the comprehensive utilization of sugarcane production is high. For example, the sugarcane chemical refinery in Jiangmen municipality can manufacture various products from sugarcane such as crude sugar, brown sugar, pulp, glossy paper, fibrous board, packing paper, adhesives, yeast for medical use, alcohol for medical use, liquid carbon dioxide, ribose and nucleic acid, yeast with nucleus removed, adenine acid, tungstic acid, fibrillar acid, adenine phosphate, fibrillar phosphate and so on. Every 10,000 tons of sugarcane can provide as much as 1,025,700 yuan in taxes and profits to the state. The output of sugarcane in Guangdong Province in 1978 was 8.95 million tons. If we were to appropriately expand the planting area in regions suitable for growing sugarcane, strive to increase the per-unit yield, double the output of sugarcane and use the products comprehensively, we could not only increase the production of sugar by 1 million tons and solve the problem of sugar importation for the whole country, but also provide an extra 918 million yuan to the state and provide employment for more than 60,000 people. This will be of tremendous significance for speeding up economic readjustment in Guangdong Province and building a flexible economic structure of high efficiency.

There is great potential for sugar-manufacturing industrial equipment in Guangdong Province. There are now 132 sugar refineries in Guangdong, and among them are 17 large sugar refineries which extract more than 1,000 tons of sugar a day and 59 medium-sized refineries which extract 350 to 1,000 tons a day. The total amount of extraction a day is more than 83,000 tons. This accounts for more than 40 percent of the total amount of extraction a day in the whole country. At present, only 70 percent of the productive capacity of the equipment is being utilized and there is still a great potential. On the whole, there are only 80 to 90 days of extraction in sugar refineries. The longest period is only about 100 days. If we were to appropriately extend the extraction season, tap the potential, and renovate and restructure equipment, many refineries could more than double their productive capacity. In addition, Guangdong Province has a long history of sugarcane planting and sugar manufacturing. Its technological level is relatively high and it has many sugar-manufacturing specialists. The strong points in this respect should be fully developed.

It is convenient to develop foreign trade in Guangdong. The price of sugar on the international market is constantly increasing. From 1979 up to the extraction season in 1980, there was a decrease of 5 million tons in output in several principal sugar-producing countries, but the demand for sugar on the international market was increasing. Therefore, despite the increase in the price of sugar, there is still a rush to purchase it on the international market. The price of sugar on the international market is several times the price of grain. One ton of sugar can be exchanged for 2 or 3 tons of husked rice, or 6 to 8 tons of wheat or so. It will be very profitable to develop the strong points in the production of sugarcane in Guangdong, increase the production of sugar by more than 1 million tons, stop importing sugar in order to facilitate the importation of grain, or export sugar in exchange for grain.

In sum, there are obvious strong points for the production of sugarcane in Guangdong. They should be vigorously developed so that Guangdong can become the base for the production of sugarcane in our country in the true sense of that term.

## 11. How Should the Strong Points of Sugarcane Production in Guangdong Be Developed?

The development of sugarcane production is Guangdong's specialty. However, Guangdong is densely populated and has little cultivable land. The contradictions arising from the competition for land between grain and sugarcane is very acute. There is not much room for change in the use of cultivable land. This is a weak point in Guangdong. Therefore, the key to whether sugarcane can be vigorously developed in Guangdong Province lies in grain.

From 1965 to 1978, the population in Guangdong increased by 31.64 percent, but the total output of grain only increased by 19.73 percent. The average amount of grain for each person dropped from 623 jin in 1965 to 567 jin in 1978. In the whole province, the average amount of arable land per person is now only 0.87 mu. The per-mu yield of grain crops has already reached approximately 900 jin. The problem of grain is like a rope which binds people's hands and feet, giving rise to a passive situation in which people know the strong points but are unable to develop them. If we want to fully develop the strong points of sugarcane in Guangdong, we must seek truth from facts to solve the problem of grain, adopt steady policies and vigorous measures and carry out the necessary readjustment of and discover a new path for the production layout, management system and price policies.

We propose two steps in solving the problem of grain.

The first step, over the next few years, is: adaptation to local conditions, and appropriate concentration and readjustment of the agricultural structure. We should pay attention to scientifically planting fields, restructuring low-yield fields, exercising more flexible policies in the border regions and backward regions with low yield, strengthening and improving the responsibility system in various kinds of agricultural production, striving to increase the per-unit yield of grain and guaranteeing that the total output of grain is not merely not reduced but is constantly increased. While insuring that grain production is grasped properly, we should appropriately expand the area planted to sugarcane. Practice in many places has already proved that this definitely can be done. Provided that we grasp grain production properly, appropriately expand the area planted to sugarcane, implement scientific planting, carry out conscientious management and strive to increase the per-unit yield of sugarcane, we can produce 1.5 million tons of cane sugar.

The second step starts from long-term considerations. In the adjustment of the economic structure of the whole country, we should consider Guangdong as a component part of the unified agricultural regions in the whole country, gradually carry out regionalized and specialized production and greatly raise the level of socialization of cane sugar production in Guangdong, so that it truly becomes an important national base for cane sugar production. It is necessary to methodically, actively and steadily solve the problem of grain supply. This can be solved by the methods of readjustment within the province, exchange within the country and suitable imports.

Readjustment within the province. We should implement the policy of linking up sugar and grain and the policy of a ton of sugar for a ton of grain. This means that it is necessary to fix the base figure for sugar for rational submission to the upper levels. For each additional ton of sugar exceeding the basic figure submitted to the upper levels, there is a reward in the form of the sale of 1 ton of grain. We should contract work out in counties and effect the purchase and settlement of accounts in brigades, with suitable rewards and penalties. In line with the grain-eating habits of the masses of people in Guangdong Province, the grain reward should be based on husked rice. However, the state still encounters difficulties in the reward sales of husked rice. We could consider the method of importing wheat and corn in place of fodder crops for the reward sale of grain for purchase of pigs. For example, if Xinhui County changes the structure of fodder crops and uses wheat or corn as fodder, the county can use some paddy fields to plant sugarcane. With a slight adjustment in the prices of wheat, corn and rice, the peasants will be happy to use wheat and corn as fodder crops.

Exchange within the country. We depend mainly on the state for the rational transfer of husked rice and the exchange of sugar for grain. If the provinces and regions which send husked rice out to other parts of the country can appropriately assist Guangdong and reduce the burden of grain in Guangdong, it will be entirely possible to further develop cane sugar and support the whole country. At present, some places in Guangdong, in cooperation with other provinces, are making use of regulation by market mechanism. For example, there is the exchange of sugar for rice between some counties and communes in the Zhujiang River delta area and some places in the provinces of Hunan and Jiangxi. This is convenient for the north and south and is welcomed by the masses of people. But, from the standpoint of the overall situation in the long run, this coordination should be permanent and stable and requires overall arrangement by the state. At present, we are a sugar-importing country. If we can rationally solve the problems of transport, prices and foreign remittances in the exchange of sugar for grain through regulation by market mechanism in the country, places suitable for growing sugarcane in Guangdong Province can start producing sugarcane in large quantities. This will bring into play the strong points of the localities, bring in extra income for peasants and save a lot of foreign remittances for the state.

Suitable imports. Importing grain on the international market is a path for solving Guangdong's grain deficiency problem. Two forms can be adopted for importing grain. The first form is direct imports: Guangdong directly exports sugar produced by the province and, with the foreign remittances obtained, purchases wheat and corn on the international market. The second form is indirect imports: Guangdong sends sugar to other provinces to be exported on the international market. To compensate Guangdong, the state purchases grain from the international market with the foreign remittances obtained. We should not act too hastily or rashly, no matter which form is adopted, to resolve the contradiction between sugar and grain in Guangdong, but must give meticulous consideration to various aspects such as the construction and capacities for communication, transport and storage, changes in the prices of sugar and grain on the international market, the scale of exports in our country, the financial capacity for the purchase of grain, the rate of increase in the amount of sugar consumed by the masses in the country, the adaptability of the masses of people



in Guangdong to the food structure in Guangdong Province and so on. We believe that no great risk will be incurred so long as we continuously create conditions, link up the two measures of suitable imports and adjustment within the province with exchange within the country, uphold the principle of independence, act according to our capabilities and at the same time do a good job in grain storage.

Guangdong's grain deficiency problem can be solved if Guangdong can, through the implementation of the various methods mentioned above and the energetic development of animal husbandry and economic crops such as rubber and mulberry plants, export products such as rubber and silk to the other provinces or to the international market in exchange for grain.

Next, adjust the layout of agricultural production and properly build the base for sugarcane production. In Guangdong, the most suitable places for planting sugarcane are the Zhujiang River delta, Han River delta, Leizhou peninsula and Hainan Island. At present, sugarcane is planted on 3.06 million mu of land in the whole province, but the annual production of sugar is only about 1 million tons. The area planted to sugarcane in Australia is similar to that in Guangdong, but the annual output of sugar there has reached about 3 million tons. It can be seen that we have a very low per-unit yield of sugarcane. An important reason for this is the irrational layout of production. Flowers bloom all over the place and it is not possible to develop the strong points. The per-mu yield of sugarcane in counties with a high output such as Panyu, Zhongshan and Shunde is similar to that in Australia, but output elsewhere is very low. If we can adapt to local conditions, appropriately concentrate on planting sugarcane and implement specialized production, the output will be greatly increased. For example, the masses have rich experience in planting sugarcane in Panyu County. In recent years they have paid more attention to doing things according to natural laws. They select regions suitable for sugarcane and go in for concentrated planting. Their growing technology, production technology, and selection and nurture of varieties are being constantly improved. Production has steadily increased year by year and the per-mu yield of sugarcane has gradually increased by approximately 300 kilograms a year. In addition, if sugarcane now grown on 10,000 mu of hilly land is planted in paddy fields, the per-mu yield can be increased by 3 tons. If we implement the rotational planting of rice and sugarcane in the Zhujiang and Han river deltas, which are most suitable for producing cane sugar, use fields reclaimed from the sea and plant sugarcane on the low paddy fields on both banks of the rivers, and improve water conservancy on Hainan Island and Leizhou peninsula, it will be possible to expand sugarcane planting, build Guangdong into a high-yield base for the production of cane sugar and double its output.

Next, return part of the profits to the peasants. While stabilizing and resolutely implementing the policies of a ton of sugar for a ton of grain and gaining the confidence of the people, it is reasonable to return part of the industrial and commercial profits to the people. In this way, each ton of sugarcane brings in an additional income of several yuan to the peasants. On the surface, it seems state income is reduced but actually, since the production enthusiasm of the peasants is aroused and people plant more sugarcane, the state will gain greater benefits from the increase in cane sugar production.

## HOW SHOULD WE LOOK AT THE TRANSPORTATION OF SUBSIDIARY AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FOR SALE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 29-30

[Article by Market Management Bureau of the General Administration of Industry and Commerce]

[Text] Why Should Production Teams and Commune Members Be Allowed To Engage in Transporting Subsidiary Agricultural Products for Sale?

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and following the readjustment of the economic structure and the relaxing of the rural economic policy, the system of holding rural fairs was revived and the ban on markets for subsidiary agricultural products in the cities was lifted. Some small merchants and peddlers have been allowed to resume operation and develop their trade, and in the rural villages commune teams and commune members have been allowed to transport subsidiary agricultural products for sale. In the exchange of subsidiary agricultural products, state-operated commerce and cooperatives have taken the lead, assisted by individual operators, in opening up new channels for the circulation of commodities, participated in by different kinds of economic components and operated in multiple forms. This has replaced the former situation in which state-operated commerce was the sole operating unit and held sway over a unified domain. At present, the market has become much more active than before. More subsidiary agricultural products are available, and the populace is comparatively satisfied.

Why should the communes, production teams and commune members be allowed to transport subsidiary agricultural products for sale? This is connected with the current state of development of productive forces in the rural villages in our country and also with the existence of various forms of ownership. On the one hand, owing to the effects of natural conditions such as weather and soil quality, there is a considerable variance in agricultural production results. For example, certain products are produced in one or certain localities only and not in others. Even in the same locality, owing to differences in farming techniques, the variety and quantity of output might vary and there might also be differences in harvesting time as well as in the time taken to market the products. Between cities and rural villages and between different localities, there might be a surplus or an insufficient supply, and these must be readjusted. On the other hand, with the adoption of the three-level ownership system with the production

team as the basic accounting unit, production teams have the power to "suit measures to local conditions," to engage in various forms of trading activities, and generally to promote the production of commodities. After fulfilling the levies in kind imposed by the state, they usually have surplus products for sale. As for the products from the commune members' private plots and the members' shares of products distributed to them by the collectives, a surplus is usually available after the needs of the members' households have been satisfied. Since the commercial organizations of the state or the collectives have limited manpower and material resources at their disposal, they cannot and need not take up the marketing of these numerous kinds of subsidiary agricultural products, which are usually scattered in different places. Thus, it becomes necessary for the commune teams collectively or the commune members individually to take up, in part, the task of handling the circulation and exchange of commodities between the urban and rural areas and between different localities. A few years ago, a ban was placed on the operations of small merchants and peddlers, while commune teams as well as individual commune members were not allowed to transport goods for sale. As a result, after having met the levies and purchases made by the state, large quantities of various kinds of products were stockpiled in the localities and could not be shipped out for marketing. The situation developed to the point that "in the production areas products were unwanted while in the distribution areas products were lacking." Thus, the products were not used and the flow of commodities was disrupted. Obviously, this was harmful to the state, to the collectives and to the individuals. Hence, to allow commune teams and individual commune members to transport subsidiary agricultural products for sale helps to promote the production of subsidiary agricultural products, activates the urban and rural markets, and increases the income of commune members.

#### To What Extent Should the Transportation of Subsidiary Agricultural Products for Sale Be Allowed?

The transport by commune teams and commune members of subsidiary agricultural products for sale plays a positive role, but if the control is lax and a *laissez-faire* policy is adopted, then the effects will be negative. For example, if the commune members do not differentiate between a busy farming season and a slack farming season and, despite the busy season, enthusiastically pursue such transport activities, collective production will be adversely affected. Cases have been found in which the production teams did not abide by the state's purchasing plans and refused to sell to the state the subsidiary agricultural products required by law. Instead, they sold the products privately, and even went so far as to purchase from other production teams subsidiary agricultural products of the first and second categories and resell them for profit, thereby disrupting the state's planned purchases. In some instances, they even hired others to pursue such activities.

Such activities on the part of commune teams and commune members in transporting subsidiary agricultural products for sale should not be allowed to freely develop. Instead, they should be pursued under proper leadership and within prescribed limits. Individual commune members should be allowed to handle only as much produce as they can carry on their shoulder, by hand, by cart or by bicycle. They should only handle those subsidiary agricultural products that are allowed to be sold on the markets. They should not in any way disrupt the state's purchasing

plans. They should not adversely affect collective production. They should not abandon their agricultural pursuits and take up trading or in any way damage the interests of the collectives. They should seek prior approval from the production teams for such work.

Subject to the approval of the relevant administrative bureaus of industry and commerce in the production areas and with the exception of agricultural products of the first category, commune teams may handle the surplus portions of the subsidiary agricultural products of neighboring commune teams after fulfillment of the state's purchase plans and other contractual obligations. Cooperative stores, cooperative units and licensed individual merchants may, within their prescribed operational areas, transport subsidiary agricultural products for sale between urban and rural areas and other localities. No unit or individual is permitted to hire help for the purpose of exploitation. They are not allowed to purchase subsidiary agricultural products from state-operated stores, supply and marketing cooperatives or retail stores for resale at higher prices. They are not allowed to speculate on the rise and fall of the market, or to cheat other people or to bully others in the market. They are not allowed to hoard or drive up prices.

#### Problems To Watch Out For in Transporting Goods for Sale

In the past, people's communes, production brigades, production teams and commune members were forbidden to engage in activities such as transporting subsidiary agricultural products outside the limits of a county or city, between counties, or between counties and neighboring localities. Known as long-distance transport, they were all forbidden. However, for many years, these regulations could not be strictly enforced. One of the important reasons was that the circulation of commodities has its own laws of movement. It is natural and necessary for localities to mutually adjust surpluses or deficiencies. It is impractical to limit the areas of commodity circulation by means of administrative codes. Under the present conditions of the daily improvement of modern means of transport, it is also difficult to differentiate between short-distance and long-distance transport. In the rural villages and mountainous areas, where communication and transport are difficult, in half a day it is only possible to cover a distance of 20 to 30 li. By bicycle it might be possible to cover 90 to 100 li in half a day. Hence, we should not make too fine a distinction between long-distance and short-distance transport. It is permissible and reasonable to transport some kinds of products over a long distance for sale, but it is also necessary to restrict certain other kinds of products from being transported over a long distance for sale. For this reason, in transporting goods for sale, it is no longer feasible to use transport distance as a criterion to judge whether a given form of transport is legal. All kinds of transport within the limits of policy requirements should be considered as proper or legal.

It is also difficult to say that all transport activities are speculative in nature or that they are all non-speculative. Since such transport activities might be labeled as a kind of free trade, it is possible that, for the sake of making money, some people might purposely overstep the state's policy restrictions and engage in illegal transport of products for sale. They might force up commodity prices in a rush to purchase subsidiary agricultural products of the first and second categories, thus violating the state's purchasing plan. They might



illegally buy up subsidiary agricultural products from supply and marketing cooperatives or retail stores and resell them at higher prices, indulge in the selling and reselling between individual owners, cheat on or monopolize the market, engage in hoarding or artificially raising commodity prices, or even use motorized transport in such illegal transportation activities. It is absolutely necessary to ban and punish such speculative activities. However, we should not "give up eating for fear of choking" and summarily forbid all transporting of goods for sale.

In short, we should, on the one hand, properly allow such activities of transporting products for sale but should, on the other hand, strengthen control over them so that there is "control without rigidity and activity without chaos" and so that we can maximize their positive role and minimize their negative role. In this way, they will render even better services to the cause of socialist construction.

CSO: 4004

## SOME WAYS IN WHICH MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT WAS PRESENTED DURING THE PAST 40 YEARS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 31-36

[Article in the "Study of Theory Pages" section by the Theoretical Research Office of the Party School under the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] Marxism must be combined with the specific features of various countries and it can be realized only through a certain national form. The Chinese people found the universal truth of Marxism after arduous struggles and after they had paid a high price. They combined it with the practice of the Chinese revolution and used it as their weapon in the struggle they launched. Mao Zedong Thought is the result of the practical struggles of the Chinese people and it has become the invaluable treasure of our party and our country. The ways in which Mao Zedong Thought is presented and its recognition by the whole party is the result of a protracted and tortuous process. We have compiled this material for study and for further reference for our comrades.

### 1. The Formulation of Mao Zedong Thought and the Ways in Which It Was Presented Before and After the "Seventh Party Congress"

In his "Preface to COMMUNIST" in October 1939, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth for the first time the formula of "combining the theory of Marxism and Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution."

During the party rectification movement in Yanan in 1942, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De pointed out in their articles and reports that Comrade Mao Zedong was a great revolutionary who combined the universal truth of Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Liu Shaoqi even put forth the concept of the "Thought of Comrade Mao Zedong."

In his article "Settle Accounts With Menshevik Ideology Within the Party," which was written to mark the 22d anniversary of the founding of the party, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "All cadres and party members must study hard the historical experiences of the Chinese Communist Party over the past 22 years, must study hard the theory of Comrade Mao Zedong about the Chinese revolution and other aspects, and must arm themselves with the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong and use the system of his thought in settling the account with the ideology of Menshevism within the party."

"The Resolution on Some Historical Questions," which was adopted by the 7th Enlarged Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee in April 1945, pointed out: "The Chinese Communist Party has, since its founding in 1921, combined the universal truth of Marxism and Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, using it as the guide in all of its work. Comrade Mao Zedong's theory about and practice in the Chinese revolution represent this combination."

In his speech to the seventh national party congress in May 1945, Comrade Liu Shaoqi was the first to put forth the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought." He said: "Mao Zedong Thought is the continuous development of Marxism in the present era of the national democratic revolution in a colonial, semicolonial and semi-feudal country. It is an excellent example of the nationalization of Marxism." The constitution of the party definitively states that "the Chinese Communist Party has Mao Zedong Thought--the thought of the unification of Marxist and Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution--as the guide in all its work and in opposing any tendency of dogmatism and adventurism."

In January and February of 1947, Comrade Liu Shaoqi had talks in Yanan with American reporter Anna Louise Strong, and she said: "Mao Zedong is great because he has turned European-style Marxism into Asian-style Marxism." "Not only has he interpreted various questions under new conditions with Marxism...he has also caused Marxism to make a new development. He has created a Chinese-style or Asian-style Marxism."

When the first national youth congress was convened on 7 May 1949, Comrade Zhou Enlai made a report entitled "Young People Throughout the Country Unite and Advance Under the Banner of Mao Zedong" in which he said: "Chairman Mao has practiced in China the truth of the world revolution--the universal truth of Marxism--and combined it with the practice of the Chinese revolution to form Mao Zedong Thought." "The features of Mao Zedong Thought are to concretize universal truth and practice it on Chinese soil. Our young people must study this."

Comrade Mao Zedong himself did not regard Mao Zedong Thought as his personal ideology but as the collective wisdom of the party and the people. And when some comrades suggested changing Mao Zedong Thought into Mao Zedongism, he would say such suggestions were improper.

During the rectification movement in Yanan in 1942, the cadets of the Party School of the party Central Committee discussed what was the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong, who himself also expressed his own views on this question. He said: It is not my personal ideology; it has been written with the blood of hundreds of millions of martyrs and it is the collective wisdom of the party and the people. He said: My ideology is developing and I will also make mistakes. For example, when I write some articles, I rewrite them again and again. Why? Because there are mistakes in them.

In 1943, when Comrade Mao Zedong was 50, some comrades in the party suggested marking his birthday and disseminating Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade He Kaifeng, director of the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee, conveyed their suggestion to Comrade Mao Zedong. On 22 April, Comrade Mao Zedong replied in a letter: "The consciousness of our ideology (Marxism) is not ripe yet and we

must continue to study and not to brag about it. If we are to brag, we can do so about some aspects (for example, those that are included in rectification documents); we cannot brag about it as a system because my system is not ripe."

In August 1948, Comrade Wu Yuzhang was planning to use Mao Zedongism instead of Mao Zedong Thought in his speech at the inauguration of Huabei University and to call for "mainly studying Mao Zedongism." He sent a telegram to Comrade Mao Zedong for instruction and Comrade Mao Zedong replied in a telegram: "Such a presentation is very improper. There is neither Mao Zedongism nor 'mainly to study Mao Zedongism.' We must call on students to study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the experiences of the Chinese revolution. Here the 'experiences of the Chinese revolution' comprise the experiences of the Chinese communists (including Mao Zedong) based on the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the documents about the line and policies that have been defined by the party Central Committee."

## II. The Ways of Presentation in the Early Days of Liberation and Before and After the Eighth Party Congress

Since the early days after the founding of new China, our party has insisted on the ways in which Mao Zedong Thought was represented in the seventh party congress and stressed the importance of disseminating Mao Zedong Thought properly and modestly.

In his article "The World Significance of the Chinese Revolution," which was written in 1951 to mark the 30th anniversary of the party, Comrade Lu Dingyi, director of the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee, said: "Mao Zedong Thought is the combination of the universal truth of Marxism and Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution."

In 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong suggested: Do not use the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought" any longer so as to prevent misunderstanding. Therefore, the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee issued a circular: "The party constitution has already explicitly pointed out that 'Mao Zedong Thought' is the 'unified ideology of the combination of Marxist and Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution' and its content is the same as Marxism and Leninism." "We suggest that in the future when comrades in the party are writing articles or making reports that they follow the instruction of Comrade Mao Zedong's. But in explaining the party constitution and the past important documents and resolutions of the party they may do so according to the originals and it is not necessary to change them. But we must pay attention to explaining that 'Mao Zedong Thought' is Marxist and Leninist ideology so as to avoid misunderstanding of the content of the two. When it is necessary to mention Comrade Mao Zedong in writing articles or making reports, we suggest using 'Mao Zedong's works.'"

During the national conference on intellectuals in 1955, some comrades suggested changing Mao Zedong Thought to Mao Zedongism. But Comrade Mao Zedong disagreed and said: Marxism is the trunk and we are the branches and leaves.



When preparations were under way for the eighth party congress in 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong once again suggested not using "Mao Zedong Thought" in official party documents. Consequently, the party constitution adopted by the eighth party congress did not use the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought." Instead, the concept was changed to "the Chinese Communist Party has taken Marxism and Leninism as the guide in its actions." "In carrying out activities, the party persists in the principle of combining the universal truth of Marxism and Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolutionary struggles and opposes any tendency of dogmatism and adventurism."

### III. The Ways of Presenting Before and After the Enlarged Meeting of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee in 1960

In the late 1950's, Khrushchev went all out to attack Mao Zedong Thought and there appeared an international anti-China adverse current. Internally, we were then launching a momentous struggle against the so-called "opportunism" and party and state political life became abnormal. Following the Lushan meeting, some leading members in the party Central Committee once again used the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought" in their articles and speeches. This situation was taken advantage of by Lin Biao and Kang Sheng to create confusion and they tried in every way to distort Mao Zedong Thought.

From September to October 1959, Lin Biao said with ulterior motives at the all-army meeting of senior cadres: "What is Marxism and Leninism today? It is the thought of our Chairman Mao. This thought now stands at the top of the world and at the peak of ideology of the present era." "How should we study Marxism and Leninism? I suggest that you comrades mainly study the works of Comrade Mao Zedong. It is a shortcut to studying Marxism and Leninism," "it reaps large profits from a small capital investment." In January 1961, Lin Biao ridiculously said in the "Instruction on Stepping Up Political and Ideological Work in the Army": "In studying Mao Zedong Thought we must achieve instant results." In September, he said: "In the study of Mao Zedong's works, we should not just read each of his articles, we must study them intensely." With ulterior motives, Lin Biao went further in early 1966 to make Mao Zedong Thought absolute when he said: "Mao Zedong Thought is the pinnacle of Marxism and Leninism of the present era, it is the highest and the liveliest Marxism and Leninism." "Chairman Mao's words are of highest standards with highest prestige and strongest power. Each of his sentences represents truth and one of his words is the equivalent of ten thousand words."

Kang Sheng also played a sinister role when Lin Biao was distorting Mao Zedong Thought. In the summer of 1958, Kang Sheng said in his report to the conference of political teachers in Beijing that "Mao Zedong Thought is the pinnacle of Marxism." On 2 December 1959 he once again said in a meeting of cadres that "Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism and Leninism of the era in which the world has been divided into the two big camps of imperialism and socialism, and socialist revolution and socialist construction have developed into a new historical era." Later he again said in a meeting that "Mao Zedong Thought is the highest and last standard of Marxism."

During this period, some party leading comrades and some comrades from the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee countered the fallacies of Lin Biao and Kang Sheng and expressed their views on how to disseminate Mao Zedong Thought in a correct way and they said "not to put Mao Zedong Thought side by side with Marxism and Leninism," "not to regard Mao Zedong's works and speeches as dogma," "not to oversimplify and vulgarize."

In 1961, Comrade Mao Zedong aired his views. He opposed putting Mao Zedong Thought side by side with Marxism and Leninism and he defined the formulation for newspaper propaganda: It is all right to say to study Mao Zedong Thought independently. But if it is mentioned together with Marxism and Leninism, we must say to study Marxism and Leninism and the works of Comrade Mao Zedong and not to say to study Marxism and Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

On 15 November 1963, Comrade Zhou Enlai explicitly said when he referred to the experiences and problems of socialist construction in his speech "International and Internal Situations and Our Tasks" to the supreme state conference: "Experience can be gained only through our own practice." "Mao Zedong Thought has emerged and has been established in the process of persisting in what is correct and correcting what is wrong, and this should be followed in our construction."

On 30 September 1964, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said when he replied to a letter from Comrade Jiang Weiqing: "Our principle is to learn from all the people who hold truth. We should just not learn from those in high positions." "We cannot regard the theory of Marxism and Leninism as dogma. Also we cannot regard Mao Zedong's works and speeches as dogma. You must use the spiritual essence of Mao Zedong Thought to analyze the actual conditions in your place, correctly sum up your practical experiences and correctly define the principle, planning and measures for future work." Having read Comrade Liu Shaoqi's letter, Comrade Mao Zedong attached this comment to it: I have read your letter and I think it is excellent.

In 1960, a leading member of the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee pointed out in a meeting: We must not say that Mao Zedong Thought is the "pinnacle" of Marxism and Leninism. In drafting its own restricted document, the department itself regarded the above-mentioned concept as wrong. The document "Investigation Report on Some Problems in Disseminating Mao Zedong Thought and Revolutionary Deeds of Leaders" that was worked out by the department and issued by the party Central Committee on 15 March 1961 explicitly pointed out: "In disseminating Mao Zedong Thought there has been oversimplification and vulgarization. In some articles, certain scientific and technical innovations, inventions and discoveries have been simply, forcibly and directly linked with Mao Zedong Thought or they have been said to be the results of Mao Zedong Thought." In October 1961, a leading member of the department once again said: There is another new label now; it is called "Mao Zedong Thought" and is used everywhere. It seems that nothing that has been attached with this label is Mao Zedong Thought. He also said: Do not oversimplify the thinking of the generation of young people and make it absolute. Do not make them believe in anything that is labeled "Mao Zedong Thought." He said, what is the good of bringing up young people in a way which makes them lie, to have a rigid way of

thinking and to talk big without carrying out investigations and studies. In June 1964, a leading member of the department again said: Those who have studied well have spent several years; there is no "instant result" in the study.

#### IV. The Ways of Presentation During the 10 Turbulent Years

In order to seize party and political power during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng went all out to indulge in the personality cult and racked their brains to distort Mao Zedong Thought in an attempt to turn Mao Zedong Thought into a religious doctrine.

On 18 May 1966, Lin Biao said at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee: "Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism and Leninism in a talented and creative way and developed it into a new stage. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism and Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing for worldwide victory." This concept was later inserted by Chang Chunqiao into the preface of the second edition of the "Quotations From Chairman Mao Zedong" which was compiled by Lin Biao.

In August 1966, Lin Biao said during the work conference of the party Central Committee: "Chairman Mao is the axle and we are the millstones; we will do everything according to the thought of Chairman Mao." "We must resolutely carry out the instructions of Chairman Mao whether we understand these instructions or not." On 18 September 1966, he said: "A genius like Chairman Mao occurs only once in several hundred years in the world and several thousand years in China. Chairman Mao is the greatest genius in the world." "The books written by Marx and Engels are too many for us to read and they were too far from us. In reading the classic works of Marxism and Leninism, we must study 99 percent of the works of Chairman Mao because his works are revolutionary teaching books."

On 10 August 1966, Kang Sheng said at a group meeting during the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee: "I said in the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau in May this year that, accurately speaking, Mao Zedong Thought should be Mao Zedongism." On 19 January 1967, he said in talks with foreign guests: "Mao Zedong Thought has become the banner of the international communist movement of the present era." Later he said: "It has become the line of demarcation and 'watershed' between Marxism and revisionism whether to agree or oppose the Chinese Great Cultural Revolution and whether to agree or oppose Mao Zedong Thought."

On 18 May 1967, an article "A Great Historical Document" that was jointly compiled by the editorial boards of RED FLAG and RENMIN RIBAO pointed out: "Marx and Engels established the theory of scientific socialism and Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism and solved a series of problems of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism as well as the theory and practice of how the dictatorship of the proletariat is realized in a country; Comrade Mao Zedong has developed Marxism and Leninism and solved a series of problems of the proletarian revolution of the present era as well as solved the theory and practice of how to carry out the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent the restoration of capitalism. These are the three great milestones in the historical development of Marxism."

During this period, Comrade Mao Zedong criticized Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng and denied some of their conceptions. On 25 July 1966, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote on a document: "In the future, please do not use the words like 'the highest and the most living...', 'pinnacle,' and the 'highest instructions.'" With regard to Lin Biao's words of the "absolute authority of Mao Zedong Thought," Comrade Mao Zedong once said in a written instruction: "The wording of absolute authority is not correct." "The wording of establishing in an extraordinary big way is also not correct. Authority and prestige can naturally only be established in the practice of struggles and not artificially. The prestige that is established artificially will naturally collapse." With regard to the concept that was put forth by Lin Biao in his speech on 18 May 1966 and was later widely spread in the preface of the second edition of "Quotations From Chairman Mao Zedong," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution." He asked that it be changed and he himself deleted the phrase "in a talented way." With regard to foreign propaganda, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that whether a party in another country is good or bad must not be judged from whether or not this party accepts Mao Zedong Thought; this should not be the standard. He also said that in our contact with other parties from various countries, we can only and must persist in this concept: the combination of the universal truth of Marxism and Leninism with the revolutionary practice of those countries.

#### V. The Presentation After the Downfall of the "Gang of Four"

Following the downfall of the "gang of four," our party has gradually corrected Mao Zedong Thought, which had been distorted by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng, and has criticized their poisonous influence. But the struggle has always existed around the question of how to correctly deal with Mao Zedong Thought.

On 7 February 1977, the editorial "Study Well Documents and Grasp the Key" that was jointly compiled by RENMIN RIBAO, RED FLAG and JIEFANGJUN BAO put forth the two "whatevers": "We resolutely support whatever policies are made by Chairman Mao; we resolutely follow whatever directives are made by Chairman Mao."

On 10 April 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote a letter to the party Central Committee and he said with regard to the two "whatevers": "We must, for generations to come, guide our whole party, whole army and whole people with accurate and complete Mao Zedong Thought so as to victoriously push ahead the cause of the party and socialism as well as the cause of the international communist movement."

On 2 June 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the all-army political work conference: "Our comrades in our party have persisted in studying Marxism and Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and have persisted in the principle of combining the universal truth of Marxism and Leninism with the practice of the revolution. This is a good attitude that we must continue to develop. But there are other comrades who are talking about Mao Zedong Thought every day but they often forget or have even discarded the basic Marxist and Leninist viewpoint and method of Chairman Mao: proceed from reality and combine theory with practice. Furthermore, some people have gone even further so as to regard those who persist in proceeding from reality and in combining theory with practice as having committed a heinous crime."



On 22 December 1978, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "The lofty tasks of the party Central Committee in theoretical line is to guide and educate the whole party and the whole people to understand historically and scientifically the great contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong's and completely and accurately grasp the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought so as to combine the universal truth of Marxism and Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with the practice of socialist modernization construction and develop them under the new historical conditions."

In September 1979, the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee adopted the following words of Comrade Ye Jianying's in his "Speech at the Rally To Mark the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China": "The victory of the Chinese revolution is the victory of Marxism and Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Marxism and Leninism is constantly developing in the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries and no one is able in any form to monopolize and transfix it. Mao Zedong Thought is the practice and development of Marxism in the Chinese revolution. It is the fruit of combining the universal truth of Marxism and Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution." "The Chinese communists and Chinese people have termed the development of Marxism in the Chinese revolution as Mao Zedong Thought, and without Mao Zedong Thought there would have been no new China. This understanding completely accords with history. Of course, Mao Zedong Thought is not only the fruit of the wisdom of Comrade Mao Zedong himself, it is also the fruit of the wisdom of his comrades in arms, the party and the people. He himself said that it has emerged 'during the collective struggles by the party and the people.' Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of the experiences of the Chinese revolution and the experiences of the new social construction over the past half a century. It is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Mao Zedong was the most outstanding representative of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese people."

On 29 February 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee: The discussions on the question of the criterion of truth are directed against the two "whatevers," with the connotation that Marxism and Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought must not be treated as dogma. The formulation of the Third Plenary Session is to study new situations and solve new problems. We said last year that the discussion of this question in various places must be combined with their actual conditions so as to solve problems. That is to say, in upholding the ideological line of the party, we must also look forward.

From 21 to 23 August 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping answered questions put to him by Italian reporter Oriana Fallaci and said: "The greatest contribution of Chairman Mao's is that he combined the principle of Marxism and Leninism with the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution and pointed out the road to victory for the Chinese revolution. It is right to say that before the 1960's or before the end of the 1950's, much of his ideology brought great achievements to us and some of the basic principles formulated by him are no doubt correct. He creatively used Marxism and Leninism in various aspects of the Chinese revolution that included philosophy, politics, military, culture and arts and other sectors with creative viewpoints. But unfortunately, in the latter period of his life and

particularly during the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' he made mistakes, and these were not minor mistakes, that have brought many misfortunes to our party, state and people. You know that when we were in Yanan, our party summarized the ideology of Chairman Mao in various aspects into Mao Zedong Thought and we used it as the guiding ideology of our party. It is because we followed this road that we finally won the great victory of the revolution. Of course, Mao Zedong Thought is not the creation of only Comrade Mao Zedong; the older generation of the revolutionaries had their share in establishing and developing Mao Zedong Thought. But in the main, it is the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong. But because of these achievements, he became less prudent and in his later years there gradually appeared some unhealthy factors and unhealthy thinking, mainly 'leftist' thinking. Quite a considerable part of this thinking ran counter to his original thinking and to his correct advocations that were originally very good, including his own style of work." "We will continue to persist in Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought represents the correct path in the life of Chairman Mao. Mao Zedong Thought led us to win victory in our revolution in the past. It remains the invaluable treasure of the Chinese party and state now and in the future."

In his speech to the work conference of the party Central Committee on 25 December 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Mao Zedong Thought, which has been proven correct in the test of practice, is still our guiding ideology that we must persist in and develop by combining it with reality. With self-confidence, we must disseminate it and there will be no slowing down in doing this."

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COMRADE LI DA, A FAITHFUL FIGHTER WHO SPREADS MARXISM--ON PUBLICATION OF THE  
'COLLECTED ESSAYS OF LI DA,' VOL 1

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 81 pp 37-42

[Article by The group for the compilation and editing of the "Collected Essays of Li Da"]

[Text] Comrade Li Da was one of the pioneers who spread Marxism in China. In his early years, he took part in founding the CCP. He dedicated his whole life to studying and spreading Marxism. He was a prolific writer whose works have become a precious legacy of modern Chinese thinking.

I

In 1913, in the hope of saving China and its people, Comrade Li Da went to Japan to study natural science. Thoughts surged in his mind as the October Revolution broke out in the Soviet Union. In 1918, as a delegate of the Chinese students in Japan, he returned to China and, together with students of Beijing University such as Xu Deheng [6079 1795 3810] and others, organized a student movement which charged the Duan Qirui government of betraying our country. When the student movement failed, Comrade Li Da realized that only something like the October Revolution could save China. He decided to go to Japan again to study Marxism. During the May 4th movement, he contributed a lot of articles advocating socialism to publications in China. He wrote articles such as "What Is Socialism?", "The Aim of Socialism," "Situation of the Prewar European Socialist Party Movement," and so on. He also translated books entitled "An Analysis of the Historical Viewpoint of Materialism," "Marx' Theory of Economics," "A General Survey of Social Problems," and so on. Among these books, "Marx' Theory of Economics" was a prescribed textbook for the research group on Marxism founded by Comrade Li Dazhao. This shows that Comrade Li Da joined the mighty revolutionary torrent as a propagandist of Marxism from the beginning.

In the summer of 1920, Comrade Li Da returned to China and helped to found the CCP and published the monthly COMMUNIST with Chen Duxiu and others. When Chen Duxiu went to Guangdong, Comrade Li Da replaced Li Hanjun as secretary of the Shanghai branch of the CCP and organized the first national congress of the CCP. At this congress, Comrade Li was elected propaganda director of the party Central Committee. He was also in charge of the party's underground publishing agency--the People's Publishing House--and became principal of the Pingmin Girls School, thus doing a lot of actual work.

In October 1920, the school of thought headed by Liang Qichao and Zhang Dongxun attacked Marxism by publishing absurd articles on the absence of a laboring class "in China and on the impossibility of establishing a political party of the proletariat." The communist writers' counterattack led to a sharp debate between the two schools. As a communist writer, Comrade Li Da wrote representative articles such as "Zhang Dongxun Has Revealed His True Features," "A Discussion on Social Revolutions" and "Discussing Socialism and Questioning Liang's Appointment to Office." He pointed out that the nature of this debate was a conflict between "socialism and antisocialism." He grasped the core of the debate, systematically refuted the enemies' sophistry for capitalism and concluded that socialism alone was what China needed. He summoned the believers of communism to "organize firm groups and fight for communism to the end even if they encounter evil forces at home and abroad."

Anarchism, which spread to China before Marxism, had considerable influence among some young intellectuals and workers and even among certain early communist organizations. It was a big ideological hindrance to building up the party. In his articles "A Discussion on Social Revolutions" and "An Analysis of Anarchism," Comrade Li Da systematically criticized anarchism. Not only did he reveal the absurdities of the anarchist political viewpoint, but he also analyzed the theoretical and philosophical foundation of anarchism. He acutely pointed out that "only individualism can lead to anarchism."

In order to protect the embryonic CCP from the influence of the revisionism of the Second International, a clear line had to be drawn between Marxism and revisionism. Just before the founding of the party, Comrade Li Da published a few articles, including "The Origin of the Third Congress of the International Communist Party," "The Restoration of Marxism" and "The Marxist Approach to Socialism," in which he systematically unveiled how the revisionists of the Second International betrayed Marxism in theory and practice. Through the discussion on the "aims" of the Third International Communist Party led by Lenin, he pointed out that in founding the CCP the guiding ideology and target of struggle was "to implement Marxist communism, which means also revolutionary socialism. This will be done through mass movements and revolutions. The means of implementation will be proletarian dictatorship." In these articles, he systematically discussed a series of important issues concerning proletarian dictatorship, including the fundamental antagonism between capitalist democracy and proletarian democracy, the unification of proletarian dictatorship and proletarian democracy, the seizure of power by arms, the functions of suppressing counterrevolution and organizing the economy in nations that practice proletarian dictatorship, the historical mission of proletarian dictatorship, and so on. In his systematic discussion of the important issues concerning proletarian dictatorship, Comrade Li Da at that time truly played the role of a pioneer warrior in propagandizing Marxism-Leninism.

Shortly after the closing of the first national congress, some "leftist" opportunists from the international communist movements formed the "Fourth International" in Berlin and opposed Lenin on a series of major issues. Just half a year after the appearance of the Fourth International, Comrade Li Da wrote an essay entitled "Criticism of the Fourth International," criticizing the wrong theory and policy of the Fourth International, while further analyzing the



Marxist theory of forming a party. He pointed out that "the communist party is the pillar and brain of the proletariat" and that the proletariat's strategy is superior only under the direction of the communist party. "The communist party is important not only before the revolution, but also during the revolution. It is especially so when the revolution is over, for it has to supervise the workers' and peasants' associations. Until communism is fully realized, not for a day can the communist party cease to exist."

Comrade Li Da compiled the monthly COMMUNIST, the first CCP publication. It played an important part in the ideological unification of communists in all regions.

## II

In 1922, Comrade Li Da took part in the Second National Congress of the CCP and was elected a member of the Central Committee. Afterward, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote him a letter inviting him to be the principal of the Hunan Self-Teaching University in Changsha, to lecture on such basic Marxist theories as historical materialism, surplus value, scientific socialism and so on, and to compile the university publication NEW PERIOD monthly. At that time, the party faced the task of realizing the minimum program in the party's manifesto declared in the second national congress of the CCP--overthrow feudal warlords and international imperialism, establish a democratic republic and start to consider cooperation between the KMT and the CCP. An important mission of the NEW PERIOD monthly was to publicize the above-mentioned program. Comrade Li Da continued to publish in this monthly articles like "What Is Imperialism?", "To My Compatriots on the Retaking of Luda," "The Doctrine of Marx and China," "The Awareness That the Chinese Commercial and Industrial Classes Should Have" and "Until the Old Parliament Has Vanished, Piracy Will Not Cease." These articles, all about the basic question of "how to overthrow imperialism and military politics," expounded the spirit of the party's manifesto of the second national congress. In the article "The Doctrine of Marx and China," Comrade Li Da applied the basic principles of Marxism to analyze the political and economic situation both in China and abroad, confirmed the correct direction of the party's manifesto of the second national congress and proved that "The CCP's proposition of collaborating with the KMT to overthrow warlord rule is also based on Marxist ideology. He held that in the united front with the capitalist class and in cooperating with the nationalist party, the "Communist Party should attach great importance to the work of 'organizing the proletariat into one class,' while maintaining independence and freedom from the other party's influence."

Based on many years of research, Comrade Li Da wrote the book "Modern Sociology," which was published in June 1926. In this book he systematically expounded the historical outlook of materialism and scientific socialism. In expounding the intrinsic viewpoint of the historical outlook of materialism, he pointed out that "the course of social life is the course of material production. The latter is totally governed by the technology of production and the productive forces. In the course of material production, what is called spiritual culture comes from material production relations. It develops and changes as the productive forces develop and change. Social progress means the progress of the productive forces. This summarizes the approach of the historical outlook of materialism to the

essence of society." In discussing the dialectical relations between the productive forces, production relations, economic foundation and the superstructure, Comrade Li Da pointed out that "we should note that the social structure is constantly conditioned by the state of the productive forces, and the form of social change is conditioned by the change of the productive forces. Therefore, the superstructure is only a subsidiary cause for the quantitative change of the economy, not a principal cause for the qualitative change of the economy." In discussing the function of social consciousness, Comrade Li Da said that "the change in social consciousness is dependent on the economic structure. With a stable economic structure, social consciousness can fully play the role of controlling the people's minds, with an unstable economic structure, the content of social consciousness will gradually change until it becomes a new social consciousness of an opposite nature." In discussing the individual's role in history, Comrade Li Da said that "the individual can create history for society, but not in whatever ways he likes. He can create history only by following the progress of history and the demands of the time." "When material factors have not ripened, social reforms will not be possible no matter how hard the individual tries and how many movements the masses organize. When material factors have ripened, it will not be difficult to carry out social reforms even though the individual and the masses have not made a great effort." These words hold true even today.

The book "Modern Sociology" conformed to the needs of the revolution at that time. It was widely read by the revolutionaries, and to the counterrevolutionaries it was as disastrous as torrents and wild beasts. After the failure of the great revolution, the KMT reactionaries accused Li Da of this so-called "crime": "A famous communist leader, once a university professor, wrote 'Modern Sociology,' an enthusiastic propaganda tract for communism." Up to 1933, 14 editions of "Modern Sociology" had been printed and it had a wide readership.

### III

Although for a certain reason Comrade Li Da left the party, he still insisted on working for the party even in adverse circumstances. Altogether he wrote and translated about 4 million Chinese characters, trying his best to spread Marxist theories.

After the failure of the great revolution, where was China heading? What was the future of the revolution? In his monographs entitled "A General Survey of the Chinese Industrial Revolution," "Basic Knowledge of Society" and "The National Issue," all published in 1929, he clearly expressed his viewpoints.

In "A General Survey of the Chinese Industrial Revolution," Comrade Li Da applied Marxist theory to draw a definite political conclusion from economic data and the economic state and tendency of semicolonial and semifeudal old China: "To develop industry in China, we must overthrow imperialism, clear away feudal power and feudalism, establish power by the people, develop the nation's capital and solve the land problem." He also pointed out that, under the suppression of feudal powers and the Chinese and foreign capitalist classes, the Chinese industrial workers "never cease to feel in danger of their lives and the threat of unemployment. Their situation is extremely wretched." "They are

truly the daring vanguard of the Chinese revolution." The majority of the peasants have either lost their land or their jobs. The misery of life cannot go any further. Judging from the situation of nationwide peasant movements in recent years, there have been as many as a few dozen million organized peasants, especially peasants from the provinces of Guangdong, Hunan and Hubei. They are a great force with which to resist imperialism and feudal power and have achieved a lot in their revolutionary struggle."

In the book "Basic Knowledge of Society," apart from discussing social development from the Marxist point of view and dissecting the features of imperialism, Comrade Li Da also analyzed the question of the Chinese revolution, enthusiastically praised the workers' movement and the peasants' revolutionary wars led by the party, and pointed out the nature and future of the Chinese revolution. He stated that "China is both semicolonial and semifeudal. There must be a revolution to save China, to overthrow imperialism on one hand and clear away semifeudalism on the other. The former is a national revolution, the latter is a democratic revolution. Their inevitable end is toward a social revolution and the confluence of world social progress."

In his book "The National Issue," while explaining the aim of studying the national issue, Comrade Li Da pointed out that "the national issue is one of the basic issues of the world revolution and also of the Chinese revolution. To understand the theory and strategy of the world revolution and the Chinese revolution, we must study the national issue." He applied the theories of Lenin and Stalin to introduce the basic principle of the national issue, paying special attention to the analysis of revolution by the suppressed people and to the conclusion that national revolution in colonies and semicolonies is inseparable from the proletarian world revolution.

These three books were published at a time when the revolutionary atmosphere was at a low ebb, and they were greatly educational to the young intellectuals in the White areas.

In 1930, introduced by the underground party, Comrade Li Da went to Shanghai to teach at the Institute of Law and Political Science. The next year he was given an introduction to teach at Jinan University and be the head of its sociology department. In Shanghai, then under close supervision of the KMT agents, Comrade Li Da courageously lectured on Marxist philosophy and political science. He was much welcomed by the progressive young people, many of whom were influenced by him to take the revolutionary road. The opposition party was jealous of him and hindered his work. They even made use of some excuse to ransack his house. Shortly after the 18 September incident, he was viciously beaten by some agents after giving a talk. His right arm and right collar bone were broken and he had to stay in hospital for 7 weeks. However, he despised the enemies' cruel suppression and continued to spread theories on the revolution.

Between August 1932 and June 1937, Comrade Li Da taught at Beijing University's Institute of Law and Commerce. He was also the head of the economics department and a professor at the China University. He spread Marxism by lecturing to the students. During the 5 years in Beijing, Comrade Li Da lectured on sociology (that is, Marxist philosophy), political economics, the history of social



evolution, monetary studies, and so on. He also did a lot of writing and translation. This caused the KMT in Beijing and the No 3 Group Military Police to put him under surveillance. The KMT government's Ministry of Education repeatedly directed the Institute of Law and Commerce to fire him. Owing to the support and protection of the underground party and a broad following of progressive teachers and students, Comrade Li Da was not trapped by the opposition party.

The writing of "An Outline of Sociology" was completed in 1936. Comrade Li Da himself raised the funds needed and had it published in May 1937. This treatise systematically dealt with dialectical materialism and historical materialism. It was the fruit of long years of research and Comrade Li Da's most important achievement in theoretical work in that period. In the preface he passionately declared his aim in writing the book: "Chinese society has already entered a great period of leaping forward. Countless countrymen are righteously sacrificing themselves and courageously struggling with their flesh and blood to press on with the realization of this great flying leap and create history for this great period. It is indeed the greatest miracle ever in our history! However, to effectively struggle and fulfill the great cause of national liberation, our fighters must be spiritually armed with a scientific universal outlook and a historical outlook, apply scientific methodology to understand the new social phenomenon and solve the problems encountered in practice. This will serve as guidance in our practice. 'An Outline of Sociology' can certainly help us set up a scientific universal and historical outlook and train us to think and act. Therefore, I recommend this book to our fighters." This book deeply influenced our people in the study of Marxist philosophy. It was sent to Comrade Mao Zedong in Yanan, who read it 10 times and wrote detailed remarks on the pages of his copy. He praised this book as the first textbook on Marxist philosophy ever written by a Chinese and that it was excellent of Comrade Li Da to have been able to produce such a book during 10 counterrevolutionary years. Comrade Mao Zedong delightedly recommended this book to the Yanan philosophy research group and the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political University. He also wrote a letter to Comrade Li Da, saying that he was a "real man" and requesting him to send more copies of "An Outline of Sociology" to Yanan.

"An Outline of Sociology" was Comrade Li Da's major achievement in the study of Marxist political economy at that period. It was published in 1936 by Beijing University's Institute of Law and Commerce. Comrade Li Da paid great attention to the special feature that "the general principle of economic evolution is shown in the Chinese economy" in order to establish the economic theory in which "the general and the exceptional are unified," to grasp "the law of exceptional development in the Chinese economy" and to understand "the background and future of the Chinese economy." Comrade Mao Zedong seriously studied this book and recommended it to the Yanan critics, saying "Li Da sent me 'An Outline of Sociology,' which I have read 3 and 1/2 times and will read 10 times."

During the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Li Da taught at Guangxi University and Zhongshan University at different times, but not for long, for he was fired by the KMT government's Ministry of Education. He drifted from place to place until he was forced to stay in his hometown. When China won the war of resistance, Comrade Li Da was helped by the underground party in Hunan and given an introduction by friends to teach at Hunan University. At this time, he was



under strict surveillance by the KMT agents. His name was top of the KMT's blacklist and he could be arrested any time. Ignoring his own safety, he insisted on spreading Marxism and actively supported revolutionary activities organized by the teachers and students. Just before the liberation of the nation, he accepted the CCP's mission of convincing Gen Cheng Qian [4453 3383] to revolt, thus making an important contribution to the party. In this period, he applied the Marxist approach to his lectures on jurisprudence. In 1947, he completed the writing of "An Outline of Jurisprudence," an almost 300,000-character book. This book examines and criticizes the representative schools of jurisprudence from ancient through modern times. As a good book on law written from the Marxist approach, it systematically analyzes the nature and function of law.

#### IV

When new China was founded, Comrade Li Da rejoined the party and continued his work on theory and higher education. He was chancellor of Hunan University and Wuhan University at different times and was elected chairman of the China Philosophical Society. On the theoretical front, he regarded himself as an old soldier. Taking no heed of his old age and illnesses, he devoted his time to studying and spreading Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, gave countless lectures and wrote essays and monographs. His work was highly regarded by the masses both in and out of the party and by academics both at home and abroad. On the education front, he conscientiously followed the party line, direction and policy and exhausted himself to develop socialist education. At Wuhan University he founded the research center of Marxist theory and the department of philosophy. He also founded the Marxist Evening University for the teachers and cadres and was the first to give lectures there. He respected intellectuals, valued people of ability and was concerned about young students and the masses. He was upright and amiable and was deeply cherished by the vast body of teachers and students. The most valuable thing was that, after 1958, he early on detected the danger of erroneous "left" tendencies. On behalf of the public and fearless of attacks, he adhered to Marxist principles and insisted on boycotting the leftist tendency. In an article written in early 1959, he explained the theory in scientific socialism of two stages of communism and held that the two stages of development of the revolution must not be mixed up. He stated that "the present level of development of the productive forces is still quite low," we must not "lower the target of communism to encourage the tendency of egalitarianism." After the Lushan conference in 1959, he clearly showed that the criticism of Comrades Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Xiaozhou and so on was due to "something bizarre in the party," though he "did not know what it was." In 1961, at a meeting of the standing committee of the party committee at Wuhan University, he acutely criticized the "leftist" mistakes in the school work of 1958, which disrupted the teaching program, ignored fundamental theories and dampened the teachers' initiative. In the same year, he told Comrade Mao Zedong in person at Lushan what he thought about the mistakes the party had committed since 1958. These mistakes revealed how objective laws were violated. In 1962, he traveled to the countryside to carry out a survey and declared that Comrade Peng Dehuai's opinions in 1959 were correct. He also wrote to the party to reveal the problems in the countryside. He strongly opposed the simplification and vulgarization of Mao Zedong Thought advocated by Lin Biao and pointed out the

importance of systematically grasping Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. He refused to take part in the contemporary "academic criticisms." From 1961 on, he devoted all his efforts to compiling philosophy textbooks that systematically expounded the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. In spring 1966, when the "pinnacle" theory advocated by Lin Biao was prevalent, he stood up to publicly declare that Lin Biao's fallacy was "against dialectics" and "against science and dialectics and cannot be agreed with no matter whose theory it is!" So, once the "Cultural Revolution" broke out, he was framed as the "ringleader" of the "three-family village of Wuhan University" and the "fiercest enemy of Mao Zedong Thought." On 28 July 1966, Kang Sheng peremptorily said that, "It is clear now that Li Da has been dismissed from the party. He is a traitor who bears a grudge against Chairman Mao. He belongs to a gang. Now we must strip the gang of power." Facing this base frameup and cruel criticism, Comrade Li Da on the one hand wrote a letter to Chairman Mao explaining his innocence and on the other insisted on his righteous arguments. He strongly protested against Kang Sheng and the others for ousting his research assistants and confiscating his manuscripts and, with angry tears, said, "You have ousted my assistants and seized my research materials. I must write 500 characters a day, even at the expense of my life, to complete the task of compiling books which Chairman Mao has assigned to me!" His mental and physical torture was inhuman. In less than 3 months, the 76-year-old comrade finally died, uncleared of a false charge, on 24 August 1966.

Now, with the party's concern, Comrade Li Da has been thoroughly rehabilitated. A historical reversal has now been reversed again.

Owing to the limitation of historical factors, Comrade Li Da's works, like those of other early communist writers during the founding of the party, are at times immature. The analysis of such important questions as the nature of Chinese society and the features of the Chinese revolution were not concrete enough. Later, he was not able to elevate his achievement in theory by relating more to the rich practical experience of the Chinese revolution. Yet, during nearly half a century of activities, Comrade Li Da remained a loyal fighter for Marxist theory. He devoted all his life to opening up the theoretical study of philosophy, economics, scientific socialism, history and jurisprudence in China. His influence was especially far-reaching in our ideological circles in terms of the study and spread of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. His contribution is impressive. In studying his works, we can see the long road taken by an explorer of the truth and hear the strong message of a loyal fighter. From his works we can understand the spread of Marxism, especially Marxist philosophy, in China. Upon the occasion of the publication of "Collected Essays of Li Da," Vol. 1, we would like to dedicate this article to our respected theoretician and fighter!

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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES AND THE ROLE THEY PLAY IN THE WORLD ECONOMY

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[Article by Teng Weizao [3326 4850 5679] and Jiang Zheshi [5592 0772 2514]]

### [Text] I. Development of Transnational Companies

Internationally, there is still no exact definition of transnational companies, or multinational companies, or international companies. Generally speaking, they refer to international monopoly organizations which are subsidiary enterprises, or enterprises under the control of monopoly financial syndicates of principal capitalist states, which directly invest in them and set them up as branch organizations or offices in different countries or areas of the world. Executing what they call their "global strategy," they seek high monopoly profits by engaging in international production, marketing and other business activities.

Transnational companies represent monopoly capitalism at a high stage of development. By the end of the 19th century, transnational monopoly enterprises had already begun to appear. During the two world wars, they developed to a certain extent, but they were still few in number and their operations were quite different with what they are doing nowadays. After World War II, the transnational companies of the major capitalist states, the United States in particular, developed rather rapidly and to a constantly increasing degree they achieved control of the production, circulation, trade and currency of the capitalist world and became a gigantic force internationally.

According to statistics compiled by the United Nations, in 1973 there were 9,481 transnational companies in the world. The gross value of their production at market prices occupied about one-third of the gross value of production of the entire world (countries with planned economies not included). In 1976, the gross value of sales (not including internal sales within the companies) of branches in foreign countries of transnational industrial companies amounted to \$670 billion, of which about \$410 billion was attributed to 422 large industrial companies (which made up less than 4.5 percent of the total number of transnational companies in the world) and each of which accounted for around \$1 billion worth of sales. The gross value of sales made by foreign branches of transnational companies was equivalent to 73 percent of the \$918 billion total gross exports of the world, while the total volume of sales of the 422 large industrial companies

accounted for 44.66 percent of the gross volume of exports of the world. In 1970, the total sales of the two largest transnational companies of the world, Exxon and General Motors of the United States, reached \$79.1 billion and \$66.3 billion respectively. Their net receipts for the year were \$4.3 billion and \$2.9 billion respectively, and they employed respectively 169,000 and 853,000 persons. In other words, the sales of only one of these two companies exceeded the gross national product of a medium-sized country. Although the domestic investments of the major capitalist nations showed signs of stagnation on various occasions, the foreign investments of transnational companies have continually increased. If we use the volume of direct investments abroad of private individuals of the major capitalist nations as a yardstick to measure the rate of increase in the foreign investments of transnational companies, it can be seen that in the 1960's and the 1970's the transnational companies expanded rather rapidly. The book value of the private direct investments abroad from the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany and Japan were as follows: 1960--\$45.8 billion; 1962--\$69.2 billion; and 1970--\$108.8 billion. In other words, the increase in 10 years was 1.38 times. According to statistics from other sources, the private direct investments abroad by capitalist countries were \$158 billion in 1971 but went up to \$287 billion in 1976, an increase of 82 percent within 5 years.

The geographical distribution of branches of transnational companies is rather widespread, reaching throughout the capitalist world. Generally speaking, the majority are located in industrially developed nations. But, owing to the varying conditions existing in the source countries of transnational companies, the geographical distribution of their branch companies also vary. For example, more than 80 percent of the foreign branch companies of West German transnational companies are in the developed nations, whereas 60 percent of Japan's investments are in the developing nations. Although the transnational companies have invested heavily in the developed nations, the developing nations represent the main source of their high profits. In 1977, the profit yield from direct investments by transnational companies in the developed nations was 11 percent while in the developing nations it was 23 percent, or higher by more than 100 percent. In the same year, of the total direct private investments abroad of the United States, those in the developing nations occupied less than 24 percent but accounted for 39 percent of the gross profits.

As for the distribution by departments, or kinds of businesses, of the direct investments abroad of transnational companies, the manufacturing industry occupied first place, accounting for more than 40 percent. Next came the petroleum industry, about 30 percent, followed by other industries, about 30 percent. However, there was a difference in the importance placed on the various kinds of businesses invested in insofar as the developed nations and the developing nations were concerned. In the case of the former, the transnational companies invested mainly in the manufacturing industries, particularly in the newly developed industries employing advanced technology, such as the petrochemical industry, the electronics industry and the machine building industry. In the case of the latter, the investments were mostly in the extractive industries and in industries processing raw materials.



Since the beginning of the 1970's, the development of transnational companies has manifested a new trend, which is well worth noticing. Its principal points were as follows:

(1) Owing to the uneven development of politics and economics under capitalism, there was also an uneven development in the expansion abroad by the transnational companies of various countries. In the more recent years, American, British and French transnational companies have slowed down their expansion abroad, while West German and Japanese companies have accelerated their expansion abroad. Moreover, it was significant that the flow of West German and Japanese capital accelerated into the United States, which narrowed the gap between their mutual direct investments.

(2) The relative importance of the transnational companies' investments in the developing countries went down, from the previous one-third to less than one-fourth at present. In addition, there was an apparent concentration of the transnational companies' direct investments, principally in the oil-producing countries and those developing countries and tax-free ports which enjoy political stability and are relatively developed economically (such as the Bahamas, Bermuda, Barbados, Cayman Islands, Netherlands Antilles and Panama). Moreover, in the investments by transnational companies in the developing nations, the proportion in extractive industries decreased substantially while those in manufacturing industries and service trades increased considerably.

(3) The method of participation employed by the transnational companies in the developing nations is now more flexible than before. The companies declared that they were following the Mexican Way, i.e., the road of joint operation. Furthermore, by signing various kinds of agreements with their host countries (such as management contracts, agreements on percentile division of products, technical aid agreements, marketing agreements and so on) and undertaking so-called "industrial cooperation" with each other, they actually pursued a form of "nonshareholding participation." In other words, some transnational companies secured control of enterprises in the developing countries and thereby acquired profits not by obtaining control of the major portion of the shares of those enterprises but through the channels of management, technology and marketing.

(4) In order to spread risks, to increase competitiveness and to adapt to constantly improving technology, the transnational companies frequently sought to combine or amalgamate companies in different countries which had no connection with each other, either in production or in business. They formed so-called international combines in order to develop production in a multifarious way.

## II. Reasons for the Postwar Rapid Development of Transnational Companies

The postwar rapid and widespread development of transnational companies of the major capitalist countries had a deep and firm political and economic origin.

(1) The most fundamental cause was that, owing to the acceleration of the accumulation and concentration of capital in these countries, the deepening of the degree of monopoly, and the daily expanding volume of "surplus capital." Large monopoly enterprises, armed with advanced technology and management skills

and possessing huge amounts of capital, have exported capital abroad to seek monopoly profits. Take the United States for example. After the war, its big monopoly companies daily grew in size, and their dominant position in the important industrial fields and in the national economy was greatly strengthened. In 1976, the business volume of the three largest automobile companies in the country, viz, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, accounted for 76 percent of the gross business volume of all automobile companies in the country. In the electronic computer-manufacturing industry, IBM alone controlled 60 to 70 percent of the entire American computer market. As for other fields such as aviation, iron and steel, petroleum, electricity and gas, and chemical industries or trades, a small minority control the major portion of their respective markets in the country. Owing to oligarchical control and the fact that the competitors were well matched, it was more and more difficult for any one of the monopoly organizations to substantially increase its sales volume. In short, the larger the scale of a monopoly enterprise, the greater the chances of the industry or trade producing goods in excess of demand, which is supported by the ability to pay for these goods. With the domestic profitable investment market becoming increasingly narrow, surplus capital was bound to appear. This made it necessary for the monopoly organizations to find a way out by transferring their capital abroad. Naturally, those countries and areas which possess cheap raw materials and labor power as well as large markets became the principal targets for the foreign investments of the transnational companies.

Meanwhile, the industrial oligarchs, anxious to maintain their monopoly status, adopted the policy of "using one's own investments to block others' investments," and this all the more served to speed up their outward expansion. According to an investigation made by the "Transnational Companies Research Center" of Harvard University in the United States, these monopoly enterprises operate as follows: When a new product is put on the market, it is first manufactured domestically. Efforts are made to monopolize the supply channels of the domestic market. At the same time, the product is exported to an overseas market. When the product gradually reaches its maturity along with the expansion of its overseas market and its technological secrets become known by the public, the monopoly enterprise builds plants to start production of the product in areas where the general level of income and technology is fairly high and the demand for the product is more or less akin to that in the parent country but labor costs are still reasonably low. This is done in order to prevent others from copying the product and also to maintain a monopoly status in the foreign market. When the product reaches the stage of being standardized and price becomes the determining factor in competition, production is then shifted to other areas with plentiful manpower resources and low wages. The United States first adopted this mode of operation after the war. At present, the monopoly enterprises of West Europe operate in more or less the same fashion.

(2) The technological revolution has accelerated the rapid development of productive forces. It has heightened the degree of the socialization of production to the extent that the internationalization of both production and capital has been virtually attained. After the war, the wide application in production of the new technological achievements in electronics and nuclear energy brought about an enormous change in the product structure of the developed capitalist nations. It brought into being a string of new industrial developments. The old

industries were reorganized to a considerable extent. In particular, automation in production greatly raised the labor productivity rate and enabled the productive forces to grow rapidly. Production in modern automated industries puts stringent requirements on product quality and, at the same time, demands an increase in product variety. This requires that the monopoly enterprises specialize in production, look for and adopt various kinds of specialized equipment and technology, and practice division of labor and coordination, so that they can break through national barriers, carry out large-scale production and coordination in their branches or plants abroad, and thereby raise the labor productivity rate and lower the production cost. For this reason, transnational companies have been increasingly taking the path of international specialization and coordination. They manufacture parts of a given product simultaneously in different countries, select areas with good marketing facilities for the assembling process, and export finished products. For example, in tractor production, the Ford Company of the United States produces gears in a plant in Belgium, the engine and the pumping and compressing units in England, and the transmission system in the United States. These parts are then assembled to form a tractor. This production strategy, which involves international division of labor and coordination, produces big economic results.

The technological revolution on the transportation and communications front has considerably reduced the cost of transportation. Economically, it has shortened the distance between nations and created conditions for the internationalization of production and capital. While the transnational companies of various countries are not entirely alike in their organization and management structure, the majority of them resort to the strategy of having their control centralized, their production dispersed and scattered, and their business operations unified. To achieve these ends, they have to depend on modern communications and transportation facilities as well as on the use of electronic computers so that their branches throughout the world are linked to their head offices and so that their head offices know quickly the latest world economic developments and the conditions of their branches' production, marketing, finance, research and development operations. In this way they are able to make a timely analysis of the latest reports and work out countermeasures in the execution of their "global strategy."

(3) Support from state monopoly capitalism. After World War II, the developed capitalist nations of the world adopted various ways and means to support and promote the outward expansion of their transnational companies. They invested directly in factories and mines, forming "state-operated" or "public-private jointly operated" companies to engage in overseas trade. They provided financial support and even subsidies to private monopoly companies to renew their equipment, replenish their capital, or strengthen their competitiveness on the international market. They spent enormous sums on scientific and technological research and development, taking over the burden of the transnational companies in this field. Their financial support to the transnational companies brought extremely favorable conditions, such as delayed payment, or even exemption from payment, of the overseas profits tax, and encouraged them to make more investments abroad. They enacted special legislation to protect the overseas investments of these companies. In addition, through diplomatic maneuvers and, under the cover of foreign aid, they helped develop the overseas business of the transnational companies and exported large amounts of state capital, forcing



upon the aid-recipient nations conditions conducive to the creation of a favorable atmosphere for the transnational companies. Aside from this, they organized so-called transnational monopoly leagues or regional economic alliances to facilitate the interflow of commodities and capital funds among nations in the same regions. They also set up various kinds of international organizations, under the pretext of international cooperation, to create favorable conditions for the expansion of transnational companies. All these measures greatly helped the transnational companies of developed capitalist nations to expand outward.

(4) The postwar international environment was favorable to the development of transnational companies. During the initial period after the war, the United States was the only country able to export capital on a large scale. It took advantage of the decline of the old-line states of colonialism like Britain and France by either edging into their spheres of influence or replacing them altogether. At that time, U.S. investments centered mainly in Canada, Latin America and the Middle East. After the 1950's, the countries in West Europe had basically recovered economically. They formed their own "Common Market" and the "European Free Trade Alliance," and competition in the West European market became rather stiff. In order to circumvent the customs tariff barriers and also to take advantage of the cheap labor power in West Europe, large amounts of American capital surged into the production, marketing and even export fields of the region. This helped the American transnational companies to prosper rather well in West Europe. However, by the 1970's American economic influence was, relatively speaking, on the decline while West European and Japanese economic influence surged ahead, and they exported their capital in quantity to the United States, demanding their "due share" of the American market, the biggest in the capitalist world.

Additionally, after World War II, the Asian-African-Latin American national liberation movement steadily grew in strength. Colonial states declared their independence one after another. A number of the developed capitalist states were able to retain their political and economic influence in these areas by means of the foreign investments of their transnational companies. In certain countries and areas, transnational companies became a tool for the implementation of the policy of neocolonialism. It should be pointed out here that there is a fine point between the nature of the direct investments of transnational companies in developing countries and those in developed nations. In the case of the latter, the investments are reciprocal while in the case of the former they mostly constitute a one-way traffic. Transnational companies frequently took unfair advantage of the earnest desire to develop industrial and agricultural production on the part of developing nations which had gained their independence, but were confronted with the difficulty of a lack of capital and technology. By means of direct investments, the transnational companies utilized cheap labor power, seized the relatively cheap raw materials and exerted control over the economic life of these nations. They damaged the economic interests and the political sovereignty of these states. Changing this state of affairs is an important objective for the developing nations' struggle to build a new international economic order.



### III. The Role of Transnational Companies in the World Economy

Because of their gigantic financial power, skillful operational methods and expansionist tactics, and monopoly of production, marketing and technology, the transnational companies have played an important role in the development of the world economy. Concretely, we mention the following:

(1) Further accelerating the centralization of production and capital accumulation, internationalizing production and capital utilization and bringing the production of the capitalist world increasingly under the control of a few big transnational enterprises.

The production and marketing activities across national frontiers by transnational companies required a large amount of capital. This made it necessary for certain large-scale enterprises to engage in amalgamative activities, both domestically and externally. In setting up organizational structures in foreign countries, some transnational companies followed the method of directly establishing branch or offspring organizations, but most of them adopted the more convenient method of amalgamating organizations on the spot. They swallowed up organizations in the host country which had been engaging in production, marketing and scientific research activities along the same lines, reorganized or expanded them, and helped them to develop. The bigger the scale of operations of the transnational companies concerned, the more they were inclined to such expansionist tactics. In the postwar expansion by big American monopoly companies in Europe, they relied mainly on their enormous financial power, their newly developed technology and the strong position of the American dollar to purchase European enterprises, frequently employing the American dollar at a marked-up value. They would then swiftly set up their network of branch organizations and strengthen the role of American monopoly capital as the ruler of the world's economy. This "invasion" of Europe by American transnational companies provoked the resistance of West European monopoly capital. When the latter finally recovered financial power, they began to undertake, with the support of their respective governments, amalgamations in the various industries and trades and, in not a few cases, even went so far as to effect amalgamations on an equal basis with enterprises of other countries or combined operations, in this way strengthening their power to compete with the American transnational companies.

In the West, many capitalist economists and some responsible heads of big enterprises have predicted that from now on the capitalist world would be dominated by the transnational companies and that in the different trades and industries there would remain only a few super companies in virtual control. Although this prediction appears to be somewhat premature, it does reflect the current trend of an increasing centralization of production and accumulation of capital. According to estimates made by the American Professor Fisher, the profit ratio of the 500 big corporations listed in the American magazine FORTUNE was on the average 20 percent higher than that of the medium-sized and small companies not similarly listed, and among the 500 corporations themselves the profit ratio of the big transnational companies was 20 percent higher than that of the non-transnational companies. Besides, in capital manipulation, the transnational companies enjoyed a position superior to that of the nontransnational companies,

according to an estimate made by the U.S. Commerce Department, of the capital of the foreign branch companies American transnational companies. Only 15 percent represented their own capital, whereas the remaining 85 percent was made up of loans from transnational banks and capital funds raised locally. Moreover, since these companies operate on a worldwide scale and have the advantage of very timely reports, they frequently manage to obtain large loans from localities charging the lowest interest rates.

(2) The operations of transnational companies promoted at a certain period and to a certain extent the development of the productive forces of many states of the capitalist world. During the initial period after the war, while the economies of West Europe and of Japan were recovering, investments by the American transnational companies in these areas, subjectively speaking, did play a useful role. The newly developed petrochemical, synthetic fiber and manmade rubber industries of West Europe all owed their existence to American capital investments. Britain's magazine THE ECONOMIST estimated that in West Europe alone nearly 2.25 million Europeans were at one time employed by American companies. In the past 10 years, the economic development of Brazil, Mexico and capitalist states in the Far East including members of the Eastern bloc was closely related to the operations of the transnational companies. The actual experience of many developing countries testifies to the fact that if the developing nations insist on the principle of independence and autonomy and put in force correct policies and measures, then a planned, systematic and selective introduction of capital and technology from transnational companies can help their economic development.

However, the operations of transnational companies have also given rise to a number of perplexing problems. In West Europe, certain newly developed sophisticated industries (such as the electronic computer industry) adversely affected the development of related industries in the countries concerned, because they were under the control of American capital. Also, owing to the extremely important position occupied by American transnational companies in the economy of West Europe, both the state of the economic development in the United States and the changes in the operational tactics of the American transnational companies produced direct effects on West Europe's economic development. In the developing nations, the expansionist activities of the transnational companies merely deepened the economic reliance of these nations on these companies. In particular, in certain of the so-called "guided export" nations (particularly the small nations), their enterprises have developed into specially assigned export-products processing areas which act as processing workshops of the foreign transnational companies and supply cheap labor power and plentiful resources for these companies. If a nation were to fail to insist on adhering to the principles of independence and autonomy and fail to adopt appropriate measures of control, then the direction of its economic development could well come under the influence of the transnational companies and the unfortunate situation of "growth but no progress" might well arise.

(3) Immense effects on current international trade.

After the war, capitalist international trade developed rather briskly. Its growth rate far surpassed that of industrial or agricultural production. In

particular, the trade volume of processed industrial products between developed nations increased especially rapidly. One of the important reasons for this was that, with the daily expanding scale of operations of transnational companies, accompanied simultaneously by their efforts in newly establishing, expanding, amalgamating and reorganizing enterprises abroad, they had to export to their branch companies machinery and various kinds of production equipment, sometimes including certain raw materials and semifinished products, in this way vastly increasing the parent country's export trade. Transnational companies were accustomed to having their branch companies divide up the work of manufacturing product parts, then assembling the parts and eventually marketing the finished products. This resulted in a frequent exchange of various product parts, semifinished products and finished products between nations and brought about an increase in the trade volume of the capitalist world. Consequently, both in the total volume of world trade and in the gross volume of exports and imports of a nation, the proportion of trade contributed by the transnational companies was rather large. For example, according to an investigation by the U.S. Senate's Finance Committee, of the gross volume of 1980 world export trade, exports related to American transnational companies and their foreign branch companies made up roughly 24 percent. In the same year, the internal trade volume of the American transnational companies made up roughly 25 percent of the country's gross volume of exports. Again, the exports of the British transnational companies and of the branch companies of foreign transnational companies in Britain made up 75 percent of the gross volume of Britain's exports, of which 22 percent belonged to the internal trade among the transnational companies themselves. The internal trade of transnational companies has now become an important part of international trade.

By their control over world trade, transnational companies have truly promoted the expansion of the exchange of commodities between nations and at the same time have brought about changes in the structure and direction of flow of capitalist international trade. In particular, they have exercised important influence on the economy and trade of those nations where their branch companies are located. This was owing to the transnational companies' planning their export trade in strict accordance with their "global strategy." The direction of their flow and the volume of their trade could in no way be influenced by their host nation, nor could they be affected by any regulatory measures on prices or on the exchange rate of the host nation. Hence, the interests of the host nation were often directly damaged. This was amply attested to by the transnational companies' indulging in such practices as tax evasion, secret withdrawal of funds, tampering with the profit rates of branch companies, evading changes in currency exchange rates and avoiding similar risks, artificially manipulating transfer prices in the internal trade of the companies and so on.

(4) Possession by the transnational companies of immense capital funds and enormous credit facilities has had an important influence on the stability of the world currency market.

Transnational companies, particularly American transnational companies and transnational banks in Europe, usually have huge amounts of cash and liquid assets. In the 1970's, transnational companies in different parts of the world had short-term liquid assets amounting to over \$260 billion, of which

the share held by American transnational companies was the largest, being one of the important sources for supply of U.S. dollars in Europe. Between the head offices and branch companies of transnational companies and between the branch companies, transfers of large amounts of funds were frequently effected to meet business requirements. This internal transfer of funds was made by the head offices in pursuit of their global interests, and the governments of the various countries concerned had no way of interfering in or controlling this transfer. This frequent flow of short-term funds between nations became an important source of funds for currency speculation and frequently wreaked havoc in the host nations' balance of international payments and in the stability of their currency exchange rate and the validity of their credit policies. In more recent years, the capitalist currency system has been in a chaotic state. The U.S. dollar has gone through several crises. The transnational companies, trying to avoid losses owing to changes in the exchange rate, have even engaged in currency speculation, taking advantage of changes in the exchange rate and interest rate and in the disparity in currency control measures of certain countries. This has caused great confusion on the capitalist monetary and currency market. The governments of the countries concerned were helpless. In the end, they had to resort to such measures as currency devaluation or overvaluation and the rigid control of foreign currency.

Generally speaking, the transnational companies' manipulations have raised the degree of the socialization of production beyond national limits, reaching the stage of internationalization. But the production materials have remained privately owned and their ownership is becoming increasingly more centralized. This unavoidably adds to the basic contradictions of the capitalist world, and the struggles raging between those vying for control and those for decontrol are deepening in the developed capitalist states. Developing nations must, on the one hand, make use of the capital funds and technology of the transnational companies for the development of production within their borders, but also must, on the other hand, wage hard struggle to protect their sovereign rights, to activate a planned control of the activities of the transnational companies, and thereby to establish a new international economic order of equality and reciprocal benefits. In the transnational companies' unprecedented expansion of their spheres of exploitation, the exploited victims constitute not only the working masses of their own countries and of the developing nations but also the working masses of other industrially developed nations. With the sharpening of the contradictions between labor and capital brought about by the transnational companies, activities aimed at the formation, with transnational companies as member units, of transnational labor unions will steadily gain momentum. This is bound to cause profound effects in the development of the international workers' movement.

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## TAKE UP THE WEAPON OF CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

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[Article in "Ideological Miscellaneous Talk" section by Li Linhuai [2621 2651 2037]]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism is a powerful weapon to improve the party's prestige. Unfortunately, at the moment the problem is that the party's prestige is low, and the practice of criticism and self-criticism within the party itself is not being conducted properly. As for self-criticism, some comrades go so far as to take it lightly, avoid what is important, talk about a few of their faults or deficiencies, and just do some "window dressing" work. As for criticizing other people, they knowingly conceal others' faults and believe that "the less talk, the better," or just "circumvent" or "evade" the issue, or "criticize very mildly or tactfully." To improve the party's prestige, we should firmly overcome these phenomena.

For a long time, within our party the comradely relationship built on the basis of a common ideology has been polluted owing to the damage done by the Lin Biao clique and the "gang of four." In particular, it has been eroded by so-called "theory of relationships." Under this ideology, which is built around the private interests of an individual or of a small group as the center, the members just "sit around all day and talk about casual things." They busy themselves with enjoying "food and wine." Some reciprocate other's favors and indulge in two-way "exchange tactics." Some disregard the right or wrong of an issue, deliberately taking sides and indulging in "brotherly" relations of a low taste, and so on and so forth. The spreading of this sort of ideology makes it difficult to insist on the party's basic principles and permits the growth of the doctrine of being a "good fellow," being "worldly wise and playing it safe." Therefore, if this "theory of relationships" is not eradicated, criticism and self-criticism cannot develop normally.

This being the case, if we were to insist on implementing the party's principles and promote criticism and self-criticism, would we be "offending other people" and damaging the good relations between our comrades? It must be admitted that if the party members' behavior is still poor, there is ground for this concern. But, within our party the relationship between our party and the relationship between our comrades is built on the foundation of implementing the communist ideology. Hence our comrades must encourage each other while respecting moral character, help each other in work, assist each other in study and be concerned

with each other's livelihood. The "theory of relationships," which centers on money and aims at benefiting oneself, actually erodes class ideology and gradually destroys the party structure. It has nothing in common with the relationship between the comrades of the revolution. Comrade Chen Yi put it aptly in one of his poems: "It is difficult to find an admonishing friend who dares to criticize you to your face." Indeed, from the standpoint of the interests of the party and of the people, to show great warmth and adopt a kindly, practical and realistic attitude in criticizing other people and helping them to correct their faults is in reality displaying the revolutionary friendship between party members. For example, a comrade in a certain county, after having assumed the post of party secretary, changed the registration of the residence of his family from a rural residence to that of an urban residence. This led to a bad reaction on the part of the populace. When he was criticized for his action, at first he was unconvinced but, after going through an intense ideological struggle, he came to understand that to criticize him for his error was in reality to show real concern and warm affection politically for him. He then changed the registration of his family residence back to that of a rural residence. This not only led to no bad effects on the relationship between comrades but also actually strengthened the development of the revolutionary feelings between them. If, because we are afraid of offending other people or of damaging our good relationships with them, we tolerate our comrades' errors and become too lenient, will this have a good effect on the party and the state?

In order that criticism and self-criticism be revived inside the party, the leadership cadres must take the lead. Some leadership cadres lack a sense of democracy. They like to be praised and not criticized. They even attack those who dare to put forward contrary views and create difficulties for their critics. The result is that they only hear flattery instead of kindly advice, and slanderous talk takes the place of sincere work. In short, an evil influence prevails and righteousness is curbed. Therefore, a leader should encourage the party members and the public to give him their critical views so as to help him to check erroneous ideas at the outset and to commit no or few errors in his work. This also prevents improper and unscrupulous persons from gaining the confidence of the leadership and thus endangering the party and the people. By no means should critics be reprimanded, since this would only multiply one's mistakes.

We are aware that some leading cadres would like to enliven the dull atmosphere and start some sort of criticism and self-criticism, but are afraid of losing their "prestige" and thus hesitate to press ahead. Actually such hesitation is without a basis. What the people demand of party members and cadres is not that they do not make any mistakes but that they be frank and open-minded, willing to admit their errors and have them corrected. Errors and deficiencies exist objectively. Not to admit them not only cannot prevent their growth or development but might even help them to spread. On the contrary, we can only correct our mistakes and transform failure into victory if we are bold enough to launch self-criticism, to admit our errors, to analyze practically and realistically the circumstances, the causes and the historical background giving rise to errors, and thereby find ways and the means to rectify them. What is wrong with this? It can only make a good impression on and gain the confidence of the masses of party members and the people and help to achieve the initiative in leadership work.

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